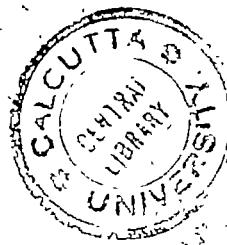


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EDITED BY
Professor D. C. SIRCAR



UNIVERSITY OF CALCUTTA

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H. C. Raychaudhuri

This Volume is
Dedicated to the Sacred Memory
of the
Late Dr. H. C. Raychaudhuri
(1892-1957)

Carmichael Professor and Head of the Department
of Ancient Indian History and Culture (1936-52),
Calcutta University.

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ARTICLES

H. C. RAYCHAUDHURI

I

B. C. LAW AND N. N. BHATTACHARYA

When Hem Chandra Raychaudhuri passed away in Calcutta in the evening of the 4th of May, 1957, very few Indians realised the nature of the loss caused by the sad demise of the great scholar. But, to those who were acquainted with him personally or with his invaluable works, the news came as a rude shock, even though they knew that he had been suffering from a protracted illness and that there was little hope of his recovery. Still it was a great loss to them, since, even from his sick-bed, Raychaudhuri was acting as a source of inspiration to the sincere students of history.

Referring to Bankim Chandra's literary activities, poet Rabindranath once remarked that it would be impossible to appreciate Bankim Chandra without taking into account what Bengali literature had been before his appearance and what it became after his demise. The same holds good in the case of Hem Chandra Raychaudhuri. At the beginning of his *magnum opus*, *Political History of Ancient India* published by the University of Calcutta, he observes, "No Thucydides or Tacitus has left for posterity a genuine history of ancient India," and he took upon himself the task of reconstructing this lost history in greater details than what was offered in the earlier part of Smith's celebrated *Early History of India*. Smith's attempt practically relates to the period beginning with Alexander's invasion of India in 327-324 B. C. even though he wrote a few pages on the earlier period from c. 600 B. C. But Raychaudhuri pushed back the commencement of the historical period to the 9th century B. C. when the great Kuru king

Parikṣit flourished according to the chronological scheme proposed by him.

In the first part of this magnificent work, Raychaudhuri dealt with the pre-Bimbisāra period of Indian history on the basis of a careful analysis of the early Indian literary traditions which, as he showed, are not devoid of genuine historical elements. It was no easy task. He had to go through the entire Vedic and Epico-Purānic literature and various other Sanskrit and Prakrit works as well as the Buddhist and Jain texts. But proper utilisation of the great mass of material thus collected is more difficult, since that requires special competence. However, Raychaudhuri was eminently suited to the work and a brief survey of his brilliant academic career will enable us to account for his success in the production of the masterpiece. The great popularity of his *Political History of Ancient India* (from the Accession of Parikṣit to the extinction of the Gupta Dynasty) is clearly demonstrated by the fact that it has run no less than six editions since its first appearance in 1923.

Hem Chandra Raychaudhuri was born on the 8th April, 1892, in the village of Ponabalia in the Buckergunge District. Son of Manoranjan Raychaudhuri, Zamindar of Ponabalia, and Tarangiṇī Devī, Hem Chandra received his early education at the Brajamohan Institution, one of the best schools of the time, founded by Aswini Kumar Datta at Barisal. He passed the Entrance examination of Calcutta University in 1907 having stood first among the students of the then province of East Bengal and Assam. Thereafter he came to Calcutta and studied first at the General Assembly's Institution (later Scottish Churches College) and then at the Presidency College from which he graduated in 1911. Having stood first among all the Honours Graduates of Calcutta University during that year, Hem Chandra obtained the Eshān scholarship. In

1913 he stood first in the M. A. examination in History and subsequently became a Griffith Prizeman in 1919 and was also admitted to the degree of Doctor of Philosophy (Ph. D.) of Calcutta University in 1921.

Immediately after obtaining his M.A. degree, Raychaudhuri worked first as a Lecturer at the Bangabasi College, Calcutta, for a short time (1913-14) and then joined the Bengal Education Service and served at the Presidency College, Calcutta, for three years (1914-16). In 1916, he was transferred to the Government College, Chittagong. About this time, he was considerably distressed owing to the illness of his wife, whose untimely death soon afterwards acted heavily upon his nerves, and the transfer increased his troubles. Fortunately, Sir Asutosh Mookherjee was then in need of talented youngmen for the new Department of Ancient Indian History and Culture in the University of Calcutta. He offered a lectureship to Raychaudhuri who readily gave up his post in the Bengal Education Service and joined the University as a Lecturer in 1917. In 1936 when D. R. Bhandarkar retired, Raychaudhuri succeeded him as Carmichael Professor and Head of the Department of Ancient Indian History and Culture, a position that he held down to June, 1952. Before this appointment, for a year in 1928, he acted as Reader and Head of the Department of History at the University of Dacca.

As a man, Raychaudhuri had an extremely affectionate and sensitive nature. Whoever came into his contact was charmed by his amiable behaviour. He was an exceptionally successful and inspiring teacher. But he lived more or less a life of seclusion, though the urge for knowledge never allowed him any rest. He devoted all his time and energy in studies. Dr. R. C. Majumdar, while paying tribute to his memory, remarked that Hem Chandra knew nothing but books.

Raychaudhuri's scholarship was universally recognised,

His treatment of historical topics was characterised by originality, sound judgement and learning and he never sacrificed critical caution to the passion for novel theories. Indeed, Raychaudhuri's name was a guarantee for dependable work. In 1946, he was made a fellow of the Asiatic Society of Bengal and later, in 1951, was awarded the Society's B. C. Law gold medal for his contribution to the cause of Ancient Indian History and Culture. In 1941 he had presided over a section of the Indian History Congress held at Hyderabad, while he was elected General President of the Congress for its Nagpur Session held in 1950.

It is interesting to note that, as an author, Raychaudhuri was not exceptionally prolific, and this is because he insisted on quality rather than quantity. He had in his mind the idea of writing an authentic history of the earlier phases of Vaiṣṇavism and collected data from various sources. These were utilised in his second famous work entitled *Materials for the Study of the Early History of the Vaiṣṇava Sect*. This book, which was published by Calcutta University and has run two editions (1920 and 1936), is not big in size; but it is regarded as the most useful source book by all serious students of Vaiṣṇavism. Raychaudhuri also contributed a number of articles to learned periodicals, all of which have been incorporated in his *Studies in Indian Antiquities* (1932 and 1958), the second edition of which, also published by the University of Calcutta, appeared a year after his death. The papers in this volume are characterised by clarity of thought and are suggestive of the vast range of Raychaudhuri's scholarship. He contributed chapters to such works as the Dacca University's *History of Bengal*, Vol. I (1942). Even when he was bed-ridden, he contributed an important chapter to the *Early History of the Deccan* edited by G. Yazdani. Raychaudhuri wrote the *Groundwork of Indian History* (for Matriculation Students) jointly with S. N. Sen and the

Advanced History of India (for B. A. Students) in collaboration with R. C. Majumdar and K. K. Datta.

Hem Chandra Raychaudhuri is no more among us; but his memory is still fresh and will remain so for many years among all serious students of Indian history.¹

II

TRIPURARI CHAKRAVARTI

Hem Chandra Raychaudhuri died in Calcutta on the 4th May, 1957, at the comparatively early age of sixty-five years. The country and, in particular, the University of Calcutta, of which, he was a distinguished and outstanding product, became the poorer by his death; the University lost a profound and erudite scholar, and the country one who was, by universal consent¹, in the foremost rank of her men of learning. He belonged to an old aristocratic family of Barisal in East Bengal and had his early education in his native District. After a very brilliant career in his school, he came to Calcutta for college education. Here his progress was equally striking. In the B. A. Examination of 1911, he stood first in Class I in History Honours, and won the coveted Eshan Scholarship as the best Honours Student of the University in that year. He secured the first place in the First Class in the M. A. Examination of 1913 as well, and chose the profession of a teacher in our Colleges and University. The history of ancient Indian culture and civilisation was the all-absorbing interest of his life, and he dedicated himself to the task of illuminating the dark corners of this history by the light of his learning. The value of his researches and learned contributions was soon recognised, and he was appointed

1 We are thankful to Prof. D. C. Sircar for the help we have received from him in the preparation of this note—N. N. B.

the Carmichael Professor of Ancient Indian History and Culture in 1936. Academic honours and distinctions came to him in rapid succession and he was elected a Fellow of the Asiatic Society of Bengal in 1946, and became the President of the Nágpur Session of the Indian History Congress in 1950.

His was a life externally uneventful, but full of thought and work, and latterly crowned by great influence over his students and great respect from the senior members of the University. His appearance had a peculiarly steadfast look, and there was in him a remarkable seriousness of expression, an air of solidity and quiet strength. He knew comparatively few people, and of these only very few intimately, having no taste or turn for those sports and socials in which University acquaintances are most frequently made. This caused him to pass for harsh or unsocial. But those who came to know Professor Hem Chandra intimately soon perceived that, under his reserve, there lay not only a capacity for affection—no man was perhaps more tenacious in his friendship—but also qualities that made him an attractive companion. His tendency to solitude sprang less from pride or coldness than from the occupation of his mind by subjects which he so dearly loved and made his own. He had been of an earnest and serious disposition from his boyhood, and this had given a tinge of gravity to his manner. Though apt to be silent in general company, no one could be more agreeable when you were alone with him. One never talked to him without carrying away something to ponder over. On everything he said or wrote, there was stamped the impress of a strong individuality, a mind that thought for itself, a character ruggedly original wherein grimness was mingled with flashes of humour and a genial personality. His independence appeared even in the way he pursued his studies. With abilities of the highest order,

he cared comparatively little for the distinctions which the University offers, choosing rather to follow out his own line of reading in the way he judged permanently useful than to devote himself to the pursuits of honours and prizes. His intellect worked like a conscience in the field of study and research. While others became involved in the dust and heat of worldly life and activities, Professor Hem Chandra kept the noiseless tenor of his way along the cool, sequestered vale of academic life. He had no ambition to become an administrator because he was constantly aware of the danger of the exaltation of the administrator in the University office. As a University teacher, he correctly understood his three great obligations which were the need for constant research, the necessity of keeping a fresh mind, and finally the duty to know and cultivate his students as friends.

Every student and fellow worker of Professor Raychaudhuri admitted that he was a miracle of learning. Learning was the business of his life. He had no other business or interests. He was gifted with a singularly tenacious memory. His industry was untiring. He worked for almost all hours of the day, and sometimes far into the night. Yet, even after making every allowance for his memory and his industry, his friends and admirers stood amazed at the range and exactness of his knowledge in the domain of History, and Ancient Indian History in particular. He asked for no reward for his worship in the shrine or sanctuary of learning. He avoided publicity and popularity with the tranquil dignity of one for whom the world of knowledge and speculation was more than sufficient.

He has gone to his rest in the other world ; but the value and quality of his work endure. His books and publications bear unmistakable evidence of an unsurpassed, and indeed a scarcely rivalled, mastery of every subject which he touched. His *Political History of Ancient India from*

the Accession of Parikṣit to the Extinction of the Gupta Dynasty is, in the opinion of competent Western scholars, a monumental piece of work and craftsmanship, which will give guidance to scholars for years to come. Raychaudhuri's *Early History of the Vaiṣṇava Sect* is perhaps the first systematic attempt to present a historical figure of Kṛṣṇa and to provide a sound, sober and rational history and interpretation of the Bhāgavata cult and Vaiṣṇavism. It has been said that the lectures of Professor Raychaudhuri on the early history of the Vaiṣṇava sect "read almost as would a Bampton Lecture on the Historical Christ to a Christian audience." "They are an attempt to disentangle the authentic figure of Kṛṣṇa from the mass of Purāṇic legend and gross tradition, from the wild conjectures and mistaken, if reasoned, theories which surround his name." His *Studies in Indian Antiquities* are always well-informed, thoughtful and suggestive. They have indicated and mapped out lines of further investigation in different fields of study and research.

The last years of Professor Raychaudhuri were darkened by a fatal illness from which he did not recover. But he loved life and, more than that, the all-absorbing passion of his life—ancient Indian culture and civilization. Providence decreed otherwise. But, even in his sick-bed, he never for a moment shirked his duty. He laboured on under strain and anxiety; and, under a disabling illness which perpetually tormented him, he was always ready to respond to every public demand, the demand of his *alma mater*, the demand of his friends and admirers. He was stricken down in the midst of his work, a martyr to conscience and duty. But we love to remember his serene patience, his untroubled equanimity, and the quiet trust with which, during these long, weary days, he awaited the call which he knew was soon to come. He has gone to his rest, and we pay homage to a cherished memory.²

2 Cf. *Cal. Rev.*, May, 1957, pp. 213ff.

THE COCK MOTIF IN SKANDA WORSHIP

DILIP KUMAR BISWAS

In an entry on *Kārttikeya* in the recently published Bengali encyclopaedia *Bhāratakoṣa*,¹ I have discussed briefly the composite nature of the cult of Skanda-Kārttikeya and have tried to show that, in the course of its historical development, the cult has, at various times, absorbed and assimilated the influences of the respective concepts and worship of the gods Brahman, Rudra-Śiva and Agni, the river-goddess Gaṅgā, the six Kṛtikās and Sūrya, besides imbibing to a considerable extent the characteristics of the popular and tribal faiths. In the present paper, I am going to deal with an interesting feature of Skanda worship which, I believe, it borrowed from the sun cult and which I have alluded to as the cock motif.

By referring to a huge mass of evidence furnished by literature and archaeology, it can be convincingly shown that the *kukkuṭa* or cock has been intimately associated with Kārttikeya from very early times. The *Mahābhārata*² refers to *śakti*, *tāmracūḍa*, *kukkuṭ-āstra* and *śankha* as his attributes. Elsewhere in the epic,³ Viśvāmitra is found to grow into a great favourite of Kārttikeya by singing the latter's praise and by cultivating the *kukkuṭ-āstra* (*kukkuṭasya tu sādhanam*). It is further stated that Kārttikeya's flag was the *kukkuta* given to him by Agni.⁴ Finally in the same book,⁵ the *kukkuṭa* is described as Kārttikeya's toy (*tvāṁ kṛīdase Ṣaṇmukha kukkuṭena*

1 Vol. II, pp. 283-86

2 III. 228.33.

3 III. 225.14.

4 III. 228.33

5 III. 231.16

yathēṣṭa-nānāvidha-kāmarūpi). The attitude of the *Mahābhārata* in this respect is also found well reflected in the *Purāṇas*. In the *Vāyu Purāṇa*,⁶ Kārttikeya is seen as receiving the *mayūra* and *kukkuṭa* from Viṣṇu as a couple of toys. In the *Padma-Purāṇa*,⁷ the gift of a *kukkuṭa* comes to him from Tvaṣṭṛ, and this account is repeated in the *Matsya Purāṇa*.⁸ Among the one hundred and eight names of Kārttikeya included in the *Skanda Purāṇa*, one is, significantly enough, *Kukkuṭin*.⁹ According to the same text, the banner of the god is decorated with the figure of a *kukkuṭa*,¹⁰ and he chooses as his mount the same bird in his war with the demon Tāraka.¹¹ The story of Kārttikeya having received the gift of a *kukkuṭa* is also repeated in the *Skanda Purāṇa* twice; on one occasion he receives it from the Ocean¹² and, on the other, from Aruṇa.¹³ The *Mahābhārata*¹⁴ and the *Vāmana Purāṇa*¹⁵ also follow the latter tradition embodied in the *Skanda Purāṇa* making Kārttikeya receive the *kukkuṭa* from Aruṇa who is originally conceived as the charioteer of the Sun-god and later identified with the sun. Among the female attendants of Kārttikeya listed in the *Mahābhārata* and the *Vāmana Purāṇa*, one is significantly named *Kukkuṭikā*.¹⁶

It is also not difficult to adduce iconographical evidence of the association of the *kukkuṭa* with Kārttikeya. Of the very valuable iconographical texts collected by T. A.

6 Chapter 72, verse 46.

7 Śrṣṭikhaṇḍa, Chapter 44, verse 151.

8 Chapter 158, verse 10.

9 I. ii. 29.138.

10 I. ii. 31.6-7.

11 I. ii. 32. 157.

12 V. i. 34. 71.

13 I. ii. 30.41.

14 IX. 46.51.

15 Chapter 57, verse 102.

16 *Mbh.*, IX. 46.16; *Vāmana Purāṇa*, 57.101.

Gopinatha Rao, the *Amśumadbhedāgama*, *Uttarakāmikāgama*, *Kumāratantrāgama*, *Viṣṇudharmottara*, *Pūrvakāraṇāgama* and *Śrītattvanidhi* clearly lay down that the figure of a *kukkuta* or cock is to be necessarily associated with the image of Kārttikeya and usually the injunction is to place it in the left hand of the main image.¹⁷ It is common knowledge to the students of Brāhmaṇical iconography that a number of Kārttikeya images holding the *kukkuṭa* in the left hand have been discovered, illustrating the above iconographic canon.¹⁸

Though the long and intimate association of this particular bird (as distinguished from the *mayūra* or peacock) with Skanda-Kārttikeya has been noticed by scholars, as yet none, to my knowledge, has been able to explain satisfactorily its origin and significance. My contention is that it is a solar association which has lingered on in Skanda worship even long after its origin was forgotten. I have stated my arguments in support of my hypothesis very briefly in my afore-said article on Kārttikeya in the *Bhāratakoṣa*.¹⁹ In the present paper, I shall set them forth in some detail.

From very early times, the cock has been associated, for natural reasons, with the rising sun because of its invariable habit of announcing the dawn by crying out at sunrise. Yāska (c. 6th century B. C. if not earlier) in his *Nirukta*²⁰ clearly says : *kṛkavākuḥ sāvitra iti paśu-samāmnāye vijñāyate | kasmāt sāmānyād = iti kāl-ānuvādāḥ paritya | kṛkavākuḥ pūrvam ūabd-ānukarāṇām vacer = uttaram.*

Lakshman Sarup has translated the relevant portion

17 Gopinatha Rao, *Elements of Hindu Iconography*, Vol. II, Pt ii, pp. 205, 209, 211-13, 215-21, 224-26.

18 Cf. *ibid.*, Plates CXXIV and CXXV.

19 Vol. II, p. 284.

20 XII. 13.

of the passage thus : ".....the cock is sacred to the sun. From what analogy is this so ? [The cock is sacred to the sun] because he announces the time [of the sun]. The former part of the word *kṛkavāku* is onomatopoetic ; the latter is derived from [the root] *vac* (to speak)." ²¹ An early author as he is, Yāska is here referring to an even earlier tradition that goes back to the days of the different Schools of the *Yajurveda Saṃhitā*. Thus the formula *Kṛkavākuḥ sāvitrah*, embodying the concept of the invariable association of the cock with the sun, finds place in the *Taittirīya Saṃhitā*²² and the *Maitāryani Saṃhitā*²³ of the Black *Yajurveda* as well as in the *Vājasaneyi Saṃhitā*²⁴ of the White *Yajurveda*. The genuineness and antiquity of the idea are therefore beyond any doubt. The same association between the cock and the rising sun in a secular context can be traced in the following erotic stanza quoted by Kṣemendra in his *Aucityavicāracarca* :²⁵

ayi vijahīhi dṛdh-opagūhanam
īyaja navasaṅgama-bhiru vallabham /
aruna-kar-odgama eva vartate
varatanu sampravadanti kukkuṭāḥ //²⁶

The cock has here been represented as the herald and symbol of sunrise. The verse in question is attributed by Kṣemendra to Kumāradāsa, apparently the author of the poem *Jānakiharāṇa*, who flourished probably in the eighth century A. D. It must, however, be regarded as of a much

21 *The Nighaṇṭu and the Nirukta*, Eng. trans., Delhi, 1962, p 189.

22 V. S. 18 ; trans. A. B. Keith, *Harvard Oriental Series*, Part II, p. 452.

23 III. 14.15.

24 XXIV. 35.

25 Chowkhamba Sanskrit Series ed., p. 21.

26 My attention was first drawn to this verse by my friend Sri Bishnupada Bhattacharya.

earlier origin as its last foot *varatanu sampravadanti kukkuṭāḥ* is quoted by Patañjali in his *Mahābhāṣya* (c. 2nd century B. C.) while commenting on the Pāṇinian aphorism *vyakta-vācāṇi samuccāraṇe*.²⁷ We thus find it possible to trace the development of this tradition right from the Vedic age to the days of Patañjali.

Quite naturally therefore we can look for the very persistent image of this association to have entered the body of the solar mythology of the epics and the Purāṇas and our search in this respect does not go unrewarded. A story told in a number of the Purāṇas²⁸ and the *Harivāraṇa*²⁹ describes how, as the result of a terrible curse inflicted on Sūrya's son Yama by the latter's step-mother Chāyā, Yama's legs began to rot away and to be eaten by worms and how, in the circumstances, the Sun gave his diseased offspring a *kṛkavāku* or cock that was meant to devour the worms and cure Yama :

Kṛkavāku = mayā datto yaḥ kṛmin bhakṣayiṣyati /
kledañ = ca rudhirañ = c = aiva vats = āyam = apaneṣyati //

It is interesting to note in this connection that this very ancient notion also captured the imagination of some schools of medieval Indian painters. One of the various conventions of what is known as Rajput painting is to portray early dawn and rising sun through the symbol of the crowing cock. We may point, as a typical example, to the picture of Rāgiṇī Vibhāṣā "where the mood of the melody is conceived in the story of a pair of lovers awakened from their happy slumber after the dalliance overnight by the

27 I 3. 48.

28 *Vāyu*, 48.61; *Matsya*, 11. 12-17; *Padma*, *Sṛṣti*, 8.52; *Brahma*, 6.29-30.

29 I. 9.31-32.

untimely cock-crow of the dawn. The lover quickly bends his bow to punish the delinquent cock on the neighbouring tree.”³⁰ Gangoly cites in his explanatory notes the following Sanskrit verse with its English translation describing Rāginī Vibhāṣā which no doubt is the text that the artist has followed in this case :

*śubhrāmba o gaura-varṇaḥ sukāntih
dhīr-ollasat-kuṇḍala-dhṛṣṭa-gandah |
arun-odaye kukkanṭa-pakṣsi-śabde
Vibhāṣā-rāgaḥ smara-cāru-mūrtih //³¹*

“Wearing white robes, fair in complexion, and of radiant beauty, his cheeks beaten with the slowly swinging ear-pendants, at the early dawn ringing with the voice of the cock, the Vibhāṣā-rāga is pictured as the beautiful form of himself.” The sentiment contained in this very late stanza bears a distinct echo of the same as expressed in the aforementioned verse alluded to by Patañjali and preserved by Kṣemendra. It is thus clear that the tradition regarding the cock’s association with the sun had a continuous existence down to the late medieval period.

The above discussion establishes two points definitely. First, the cock is a bird that has been connected with Skanda worship very persistently in the *Mahābhārata* and the *Purāṇas* as well as in a number of inconographic texts, the canon prescribed by the latter having been accepted and applied by sculptors : secondly, from time immemorial, the cock has been regarded as the symbol of the rising sun by the Brāhmaṇical tradition which has a long history from the Vedic age down to the seventeenth and eighteenth

30 O. C. Gangoly, *Masterpieces of Rajput Painting*, Plate III, also Part II, p. 11, in the Library of the Asiatic Society, Calcutta.

31 [The stanza is metrically defective. There is also a confusion between *Rāga* and *Rāginī*.—Ed.]

centuries. Now, evidence can be adduced that Skanda worship has from early times absorbed many elements from the cult of the Sun-god. This is quite in line with its character as an extremely composite cult. According to the *Viṣṇu Purāṇa*,³² the *sakti* or lance of Kārttikeya is made of the rays of the Sun-god peeled off by the lathe of Viśvakarman. The *Bhavisya Purāṇa* clearly identifies Kārttikeya with Rājña or Rajan, an attendant of the Sun,³³ whose place, according to the text, is on the left of the latter. The *Matsya Purāṇa*³⁴ connects Kārttikeya specifically with the *navagraha* worship which is intimately linked with the sun cult. According to the *Mahābhārata*,³⁵ Sūrya gave two of his own followers, Subhrāja and Bhāskara, to Kārttikeya. In view of this general background of the solar association of Kārttikeya, it would be only reasonable to conclude that the cock motif had also entered Kārttikeya worship from the arena of sun cult. This is perhaps indicated by the remains of the *kukkuṭa* column discovered at the village of Lala Bhagat in the Dehrapur Tahsil of the Kanpur District, U.P., consisting of a "red sandstone cock carved in the round and a broken red sandstone pillar, square below and octagonal above." The pillar bears a broken inscription, *Kumāravara.....* in characters of the 2nd century A.D.³⁶ It has been rightly surmised that "the now detached cock served undoubtedly as the capital of the column which was possibly erected in front of a shrine" of Kārttikeya. "Among the pillar-carvings..... prominence is given to the figure of Sūrya riding a chariot drawn by

32 III 2 12.

33 I. 124. 17, 21.

34 Chapter 92, verse 13

35 IX. 45.30.

36 J. N. Banerjea, *The Development of Hindu Iconography*, 2nd ed., Calcutta, 1956, pp. 105-07; also p. 106, note.

four horses.”³⁷ There is little doubt that, besides the figure of Sūrya on the face of the column, the cock capital here serves as a fresh link between the two gods and their respective cults from the solar angle, the cock having been regarded as the prominent symbol of the rising sun in India since the Vedic period. It is also to be noticed that the gift of a *kukkuṭa* or cock comes to Kārttikeya in the *Mahābhārata* and the Purāṇas from Viṣṇu (*Vāyu*), Tvaṣṭṛ (*Padma* and *Matsya*), the Ocean (*Skanda*), and Aruṇa (*Mahābhārata*, *Skanda* and *Vāmana*). Of these, Viṣṇu and Tvaṣṭṛ are two of the recognised twelve Ādityas or solar gods of Purāṇic mythology, and Aruṇa is first the charioteer of the Sun and later the Sun himself. The Purāṇic tradition therefore points almost uniformly to the conclusion that the *kukkuṭa* symbol has been transmitted to the Skanda cult from the sphere of sun worship. But the epics and the Purāṇas were in this respect only serving as repositories of a much older tradition, the roots of which, as the above discussion shows, can be traced back to the time of the *Yajurveda Saṃhitā*.

37 J. N. Banerjea, *Pauranic and Tantric Religion*, Calcutta, 1966, p 148.

TWO MEDIEVAL INSCRIPTIONS FROM EASTERN INDIA

D. C. SIRCAR

1. *Pāyā Tāmresvārī (Dikkaravāsinī) Temple Inscription of Muktādharmanārāyaṇa, Śaka 1364 (1442 A.D.)*

In the year 1958, when I was Government Epigraphist for India, Sm. Debala Mitra, then Superintendent of the Eastern Circle, Archaeological Survey of India, kindly sent me inked impressions of a small inscription which had been copied by her in the Tāmresvārī temple near Pāyā in the Lohit District (former Lohit Frontier Division), NEFA (North-East Frontier Agency). The inscription was noticed in the *Annual Report on Indian Epigraphy*, 1957-58, p. 56 (No. B 389). It was said that the inscription "records the construction of a wall around the temple by Muktādharma-nārāyaṇa and a lady who was possibly his wife." Unfortunately there is a mistake in the above note as will be seen below.

The inscription is written in five lines in the Bengali-Assamese characters of the fifteenth century A.D. As expected, *b* has been written by the sign for *v*. The palaeography of the epigraph is interesting. In the first place, the letter *s* has not been written in the modern Bengali fashion, so that the older Gaudiya form was popular in the age and area of the record. It is also interesting to note that the older form is used in the A. S. B. manuscript of the *Bodhicaryāvatāra*¹ copied in 1435 A.D., which, as will be seen below, is not far removed from the date of the present inscription. Secondly, the letter *r* is not

1 See *JRASB*, Letters, Vol. IV, 1938, p. 375.

distinguished from *v* (or *b*), though, in *viracita* in line 4, there may be a small slanting stroke near the lower left limb of the letter. We know that, in East India in the late medieval times, *r* was sometimes written by the sign for *v* (and *b*) with the addition of a dot outside the lower left limb or inside the triangle, the latter mark later developing into the cross-bar in the Assamese form of the letter. Thirdly, the form of initial *i* in line 3 of our inscription is important since it stands midway between the form found in early medieval records like the Vaṅgiya Sāhitya Pariṣat plate of Viśvarūpasena (c. 1206-20 A.D.) and the A. S. B. manuscript of the *Pañcarakṣā* (1289 A.D.) and the modern type noticed in later records like the manuscript of the *Śrīkṛṣṇakirtana*.² Fourthly, the figure 3 in line 5 is not nearer its modern Bengali-Assamese form than its shape in the Vaṅgiya Sāhitya Pariṣat plate of Viśvarūpasena, which was issued about two centuries and a quarter before the date of the present inscription.³

The epigraph, which is written in Sanskrit prose, is dated in the Śaka year 1364 (1442 A.D.), the month being mentioned as Āgrahāyanika, i.e. Mārgasīrṣa, though the author's intention may have been to indicate the full-moon day of the month of Āgrahāyana or Mārgasīrṣa.

The inscription records that, through the grace of Śiva's feet, the doubly illustrious Muktādharmānārāyaṇa, who was the son of the Vṛddha-rāja, effected the construction of the wall (*prākāra-nibaddha*) of the doubly illustrious Digara-

2 See *ibid.*, p. 373. The manuscript of the *Śrīkṛṣṇakirtana* is no doubt later than the 15th century. We do not agree with R.D. Banerji who considered it "certainly not later than the 15th century" (*Origin of the Bengali Script*, p. 89) and S. N. Chakravarti who says, "the *Kṛṣṇakirtana* must be placed in the 15th century along with the *Bodhicaryāvatāra*" (*JRASB*, op. cit., p. 367).

3 See Majumdar, *Ins. Beng.*, Vol. III, Plates facing pp. 140 and 144.

vāsinī in bricks, etc., on the date quoted above. In the expression *prākāra-nibaddha*, the word *nibaddha* has been used in the sense of *nibandhana*, i.e. construction. Vṛddharāja, 'the old king', mentioned without disclosing his personal name as the father of Muktādharmānārāyaṇa, seems to suggest that the prince was administering the State during the old age of his father. Both these rulers are unknown to us, though they may be traced in local tradition. The said persons apparently belonged to the Chutiya ruling family of the Sadiyā region, which was subdued by the Ahom king Suhungmung or the Dihingia Raja (1497-1539 A.D.).⁴ The Chutiya rulers claimed descent from king Bhīṣmaka (father of Kṛṣṇa's wife Rukmiṇī) who ruled over Vidarbha (located in the Sadiyā region in Assamese tradition) and had his capital at Kundina (located on the Kundil river at Sadiyā).⁵ There is a locality called Bhīṣmakanagara a few miles from the site of the Tāmreśvarī temple. It is difficult to say whether the rulers mentioned in our record had one of their headquarters there.

The name Dīgaravāsinī is no doubt the same as or a mistake for that of the goddess Dikkaravāsinī worshipped in the eastern frontier of medieval Assam. The *Yoginī-tantra*⁶ gives the boundary of Kāmarūpa first as—

Nepālasya Kāñcan-ādriṁ Brahmaputrasya saṅgamam /

Karatoyāṁ samārabhya yāvad = Dikkaravāsinīm //

and again, by way of explanation, as—

uttarasyāṁ Kañja-giriḥ Karotoyā tu paścime /

tīrtha-śreṣṭhā Dikṣu-nadī pūrvasyāṁ Girikanyake //

dakṣiṇe Brahmaputrasya Lākṣāyāḥ saṅgam-āvadhiḥ /

Kāmarūpa iti khyātāḥ sarva-śāstresu niścitaḥ //

4 Gait, *A History of Assam*, 1963 ed., pp. 87 ff.

5 *Ibid.*, pp. 16, 42-43.

6 See Patala XI; *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XII, p. 68; Sircar, *The Śākta Piṭhas*, p. 13, note 1.

The *Kālikā Purāṇa* (80. 31ff.) also says—

tataḥ pūrve Kāmarūpam pītham te jagatāṁ prasūḥ /
jaganmāyā Mahāmāyā devī Dikkaravāśinī //...
prānte Dikkaravāśinī sadā vahati Svarṇadī /
Sitagaṅgā-āhvayā loke sākṣād = Gaṅgā-phala-pradā //...
pīthē Dikkaravāśinī dvirūpā ramate Śivā //
Tīkṣṇakānt-āhvayā tv = ekā y = Ogratārā prakīrtitā /
parā Lalitakānt-ākhyā yā śrī-Maṅgalacandikā //
tasyās = tu satataḥ rūpāt Tīkṣṇakānt-āhvayām nīpa /
kīṣṇā lambodarī yā tu sā syād = Ekajatā Śivā //

Elsewhere the same *Purāṇa* (18. 43 and 51) says—

Kāmarūpē Kāmagirau nyapata = yoni-maṇḍalam /
tatr = aiva nyapata = bhūmau pūrvato nābhi-maṇḍalam //...
pūrv-ānte Kāmarūpasya devī Dikkaravāśinī /
tathā Lalitakānt = eti Yoganidrā pragīyate //

The *Kālikā Purāṇa* mentions the two aspects of the goddess Dikkaravāśinī as (1) the benevolent form called Lalitakāntā or Maṅgalacandikā and (2) the fierce form called Tīkṣṇakāntā, Ugratārā or Ekajatā. It is also said that Satī's navel fell in the eastern regions of Kāmarūpa where the Pīthadevī is Lalitakāntā alias Yoganidrā.

The copper temple of Tāmreśvarī near Pāyā was one of the great centres of Śakti worship in Assam, enjoying bloody sacrifices including slaughter of human beings. The temple stands at lat. 27° 56', long. 96° 2' (Survey of India sheets Nos. 92/A and 91/D-4) about 5 miles from the Tebangkhuti air-strip on the Sadiyā-Teju route. The nearest halting place is the Pāyā Inspection Bungalow, about 7 miles from the air-strip. Sm. Mitra reported as follows: "The temple, 8ft. square inside, built of sandstone and granite, is located at the south-east section of a rectangular brick enclosure measuring roughly 208 ft. by 130 ft. Most part of the temple has fallen down and only a few lowermost courses now exist, and those too are buried in the earth.....

The compound wall stands at places to a height of 8 ft. and its breadth is about 4 ft. It is pierced by a stone gateway on the western side." Sm. Mitra's description seems to suggest that the construction of the said compound wall is recorded in the inscription and that the temple (originally a *catur-āyatana* having four shrines or cells according to Sm. Mitra) was already in existence when the epigraph was incised.

Some writers wrongly locate the *Tāmreśvarī* (Dikkaravāsinī) temple at Sadiyā instead of near Pāyā which is at a considerable distance,⁷ while others locate Dikkaravāsinī at modern Dikrang near Sadiyā, and sometimes the Dikṣunadī is identified with the modern Dikhu falling in the Brahmaputra near Sibsagar.⁸ It may be noticed that the *Kālikā Purāṇa* seems to mention the river near the Dikkaravāsinī temple both as Dikṣu and as Sita-gangā and to suggest that the Lalitakāntā-Maṅgalacandikā and Tīkṣṇakāntā-Ugratārā-Ekajātā forms of the goddess Dikkaravāsinī were worshipped in the same temple.

TEXT⁹

- 1 [Śiva]-caraṇa-prasādāta(dāt) Vṛddharāja-tana-
- 2 ya-śri-śrimata¹⁰-Muktādharmanārāyanenā
- 3 śri-śrimati(tyā) Diga(kka)ravāsinyā iṣṭakā-
- 4 di-viracita-prākāra-nibaddhah¹¹ kṛ-
- 5 tah // Āgrahāyanike¹² Śaka 1364 (//*)

7 P. C. Chowdhury, *The History of Civilization of the People of Assam*, 1966 ed., p. 420.

8 See *The Śākta Piṭhas*, loc. cit.

9 From impressions and photographs.

10 Read *śriman-Muktā*^o.

11 Better read ^o*nibandhāvān kṛtam* or ^o*prākāraḥ nibaddhah kṛtaḥ*.

12 Read *Āgrahāyanike Śake*. The intended reading may be *Āgrahāyanikyām* or *Āgrahānyām*.

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2. *Gayā Prapitāmaheśvara Temple Inscription of the time of
Maujadīna, Vikrama 1297 (1240 A.D.)*

This inscription, along with another dated in Vikrama 1325, was noticed with eye-copies by Alexander Cunningham in his *Archaeological Survey of India Reports*, 1871-72, Vol. III, pp. 127-28 and Plate XXXVIII, Nos. 22-23. The records do not appear to have been included in F. Kielhorn's *List of Inscriptions of Northern India* appended to *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. V. In the revised edition of the said list compiled by D.R. Bhandarkar, only the earlier of the two epigraphs has been included on the basis of T. Bloch's notice in the *Progress Report of the Archaeological Survey of India, Eastern Circle*, 1902-03,¹³ pp. 3 and 9, without any reference to Cunningham's work.

Unfortunately, the mistakes in the notices of the two scholars have created considerable confusion. Cunningham reads the date of the epigraph as Vikrama 1297, Jyeṣṭha-vadi 15, Thursday, while Bloch has it as Vikrama 1299 and equates Jyeṣṭha-vadi 15 with Thursday the 1st May, 1242 A. D. As regards the year of the date, Cunningham's reading Vikrama 1297 seems to be correct since the last figure is clearly 7 and the third figure, which is damaged, can be read as 9. But, though Cunningham's eye-copy, apparently prepared by some of his Pandits, gives the week-day in the word which has to be read as *Ravaū* (on Sunday), the two *akṣaras* are [G]urau in the facsimile, and both Cunningham and Bloch take the week-day correctly as Thursday.

Since the year and month are believed to have been Caitrādi and Pūrṇimānta respectively, Jyeṣṭha-vadi 15, in Vikrama 1297, corresponds to the 23rd May, 1240 A. D., which was a Wednesday. There is little doubt that the almanac consulted by the people responsible for the inscription was slightly faulty as in numerous other cases known to

¹³ The Report really relates to the year ending with April, 1902, and was printed on 28.10.1902.

the students of epigraphy.¹⁴ Thus the date of the inscription seems to be really Thursday, the 24th May, 1240 A. D. At that time the Gayā region was included in the dominions of *Sulṭān* Muizuddīn Bahrām Shāh (1240-42 A. D.) of the Slave Dynasty of Delhi, mentioned as *Suratāṇa* Maujadīna in our inscription.

Recently Dr. Hasan Nishat Ansari of Patna drew my attention to Cunningham's eye-copy of the inscription and observed that *Jyeṣṭha-vadi* 15 in *Vikrama* 1297 was not a Sunday, so that the correct reading of the year would be *Vikrama* 1257 (1200 A. D.)¹⁵ when the said *tithi* fell on a Sunday. Dr. Ansari was inclined to identify *Suratāṇa* Maujadīna not with *Sulṭān* Muizuddīn Bahrām (1240-42 A. D.) of Delhi, but with Muizuddīn Muhammad bin Sām (1203-06 A. D.) who was the Governor of Ghaznī under his brother Ghiyāsuddīn since 1173 A. D. Of course, I could not agree with Dr. Ansari's suggestion especially because the third figure is quite unlike the sign for 5 in the number 15 in the same line of the record and is certainly not 5. His paper on the subject has just appeared in the *Journal of the Bihar Research Society*, Vol. LII, 1966, pp. 71ff. He says that, in reading the inscription from the eye-copy and in interpreting the text, he has been helped by Pandits Baladeva Mishra and Jagadishwar Pandey of the K. P. Jayaswal Research Institute, Patna. Unfortunately, the gentlemen did not realise the indiscretion of taking the week-day in the date to be Sunday on the strength of the useless eye-copy against the reading of both Cunningham and Bloch who examined the original stone. They did not also make any attempt to examine the inscribed stone nor did they

14 See Sircar, *Indian Epigraphy*, pp. 226 ff., *IHQ*, Vol. XXVIII, pp. 342 ff.

15 Because the third figure in the date is damaged, Cunningham also considered this possibility.

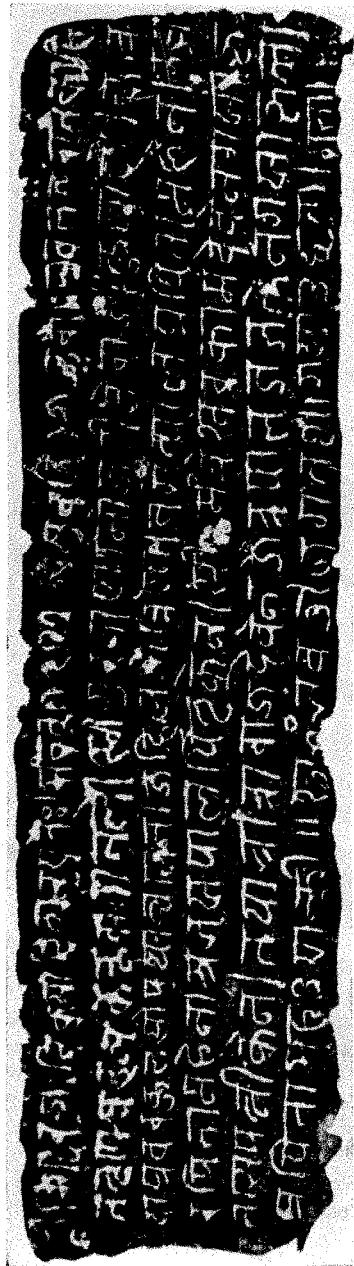
try to read the inscription from the facsimile of the inscription published by R. D. Banerji in *The Origin of the Bengali Script*, Plate facing p. 52.

Similar cases of indiscretion are also noticed elsewhere in Dr. Ansari's transcript and translation of the epigraph. Thus the reading of the passage *Prapitāmahā sākṣi* (i.e. the witness of the śrāddha ceremonies performed at Gayā was the god *Prapitāmaheśvara*) in line 6, which is suggested by one who read the inscription from the stone and is quite clear from the facsimile, has been regarded as impossible and, on the basis of the eye-copy, the passage has been read as *prapitāmaha-kṣayāhni* and translated as "on the occasion of the day of death of his paternal great-grandfather."¹⁶ Really no value can be attached to such fanciful matter in Dr. Ansari's transcript and translation of the inscription, which are both quoted below in an Appendix for comparison with our transcript and translation.

The inscription is written in the Nāgarī script, there being altogether six lines of writing. The language is Sanskrit and the record begins with the *Siddham* (*Oṁ siddhiḥ* or *Siddhir = astu*) symbol followed by the benedictory

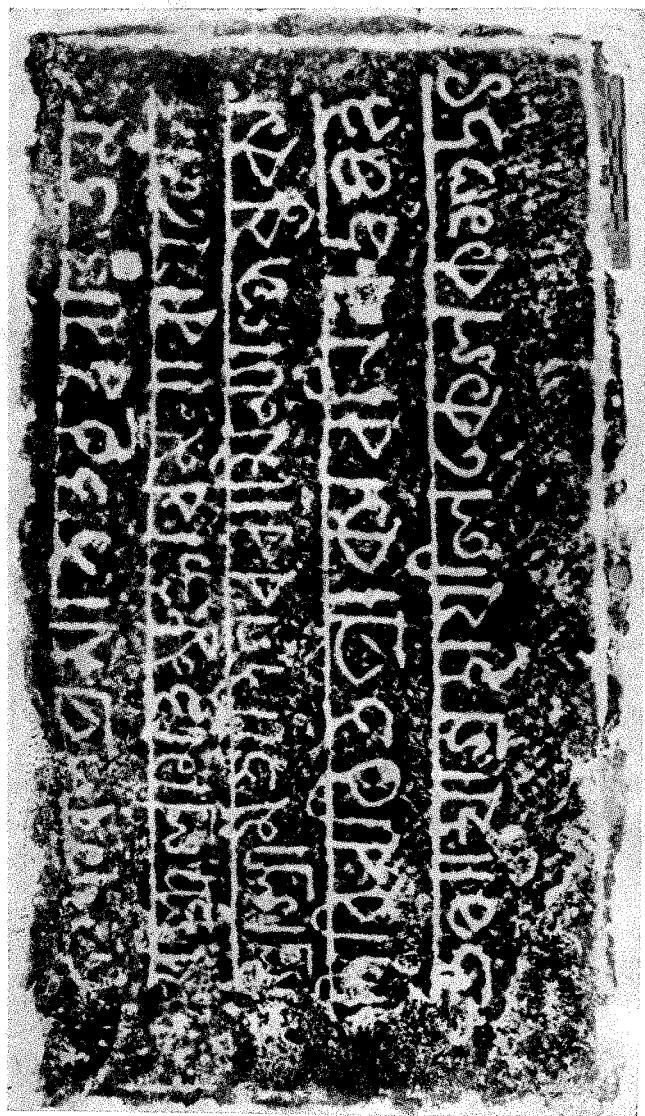
16 Bloch (*op. cit.*, p. 9) opines that the purpose of the inscription is to record a pilgrimage to Gayā by a Rājpūt from the North-West who says, 'I have done Gayā. Witness thereof is *Prapitāmaha*'. Bloch is quite right when he observes, "A statement of this kind is now technically called *Sākṣi-śrāvāṇa* or invocation of witnesses. It is incumbent upon every pilgrim either at the end of each of the stations which he has to go through, or at the completion of the whole pilgrimage, on the seventh day, to invoke the gods as witnesses that by completing the prescribed rites he has freed himself from debt which he owes to his ancestors. In the present ritual, 'the eternal fig-tree' (*Akṣayavata*) and the temple of *Prapitāmaheśvara* are the last station to which the pilgrim goes and, as a record of this kind refers just to the deity of the temple where the pilgrimage now ends, we may conclude that in one important point at least, the ritual to be observed at Gayā some 650 years ago was exactly the same as it now is."

A. Facsimile



B. Eye-copy

Plate III



Pāyā Tāmresvāri (Dikkaravāsinī) Temple Inscription.

expression *siddhir-astu*. The date is next quoted as the year 12[9]7 of king Vikramāditya, Jyeṣṭha-vadi 15, Thursday, corresponding to the 24th May, 1240 A.D., as already indicated above. The reigning king is then introduced as *Suratāṇa* Maujadina (*Sulṭān* Muizuddīn) who is represented as the forest-fire to the grass and dry wood that were his numerous enemies of great prowess. The *Sulṭān* is, as noted above, identical with Muizuddīn Bahrām (1240-42 A.D.) of the Slave Dynasty of Delhi. The same ruler is mentioned as Maujadīna in an inscription from Boher in the Rohtak District, Punjab.¹⁷

During the reign of the said *Sulṭān*, a person named Mantreśvara-Kāmadeva 'performed Gayā' (*Gayā kṛtā*) along with his wife. In Bengali, the expression *Gayā-Kāśī karā* (literally, 'to do Gayā and Kāśī') means to visit Gayā and Kāśī on pilgrimage. The 'performance of Gayā' in the inscription no doubt means 'the performance of the *śrāddha* ceremony of one's ancestors at Gayā', so that *Gayā* really means *Gayā-śrāddha*. Thus Mantreśvara-Kāmadeva and his wife celebrated the *śrāddha* of their ancestors at Gayā which was regarded as the most suitable place for the purpose.¹⁸ Mantreśvara-Kāmadeva belonged to the Ājahila-gotra and the Sopatha family of the Kṣatriya community and his father, grandfather and great-grandfather are stated respectively to have been Ajayapāla, Uttara and Jagatpāla. It is apparently these ancestors whose *śrāddha* he performed at Gayā. Ājahila is probably the same as the Ājihīna-gotra known from early Indian literature.¹⁹ The inscription further says that Mantreśvara-Kāmadeva's brother Rājadeva, who was the father of

17 See Bhandarkar's List, No. 598.

18 Cf. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXXIII, pp. 130ff.

19 Brough, *The Early Brahmanical System of Gotra and Pravara*, pp. 86, 95.

Jaitrapāla, also 'performed Gayā'. It seems that Rājadeva specially performed the *śrāddha* of his deceased son Jaitrapāla at Gayā. It is unwise to raise the question whether the above persons had any connection with the Pāla ruling family of Bengal and Bihar, which flourished from the 8th to the close of the 12th century A.D. It is apparent that they were ordinary pilgrims. At least half of the people had no *pāla*-ending name. The use of the Nāgarī script and the Vikrama era may suggest that they came from the west since the said script and era were not quite popular in the Gayā region during the age in question.

In the concluding portion of the inscription, the god Prapitāmaha (Prapitāmahaśvara) is mentioned as the witness of the *Gayā-śrāddhas* performed by Mantrēśvara-Kāmadeva and his wife as well as his brother Rājadeva. The said statement is followed by the benediction, 'Let there be welfare for the world.' The record ends with the passage *Gayā-uddhṛtā gatā*, i.e. *Gay-oddhṛtāh gatāh*, apparently meaning that the deceased persons whose *śrāddha* was performed at Gayā obtained deliverance from their sins or the effects of their *karman* and went to heaven. The expression *uddhṛtāh gatāh* reminds us of Hindī *uddhār ho giyā*.

TEXT²⁰

1. [Symbol.]²¹ siddhir = astu / Vikramāditya-nṛpateḥ / ²² Saṁvat /²² 12[9]7 Jyeṣṭha-vadi 15 [G]urau // prava(ba)la-tar-ānek-āhi-
2. ta-trna-va(ba)hala-kakṣa-dāvānale / śrī-suratāṇa-Mauja-dine rājyaṁ kurvvāne / Kṣatri-

20 From the facsimile in R. D. Banerji's *The Origin of the Bengali Script*, Plate facing p. 52.

21 This symbol was pronounced as *Siddham*, *Om siddhiḥ* or *Siddhir=astu*, the last being out of question in the present case.

22 The *danda* is redundant.

3. ya-pravarakula - Sopath - ānvayen = Ājahila²³ - gotriṇā / Jagatpāla-prapitāmahena / Utta-
4. ra - pitāmahena / Ajayapāla - pitṛkena(ṇa) / śrī - Maṁtreśvara-Kāmadevena Gayā kṛ-
5. tā²⁴ sapatnīkena / tathā bhrātrā Rājadevena Jaitrapāla-janakena Gayā kṛttā(tā) /
6. Prapitāmahāḥ sākṣi // śubham bhavatu /²⁵ jagataḥ // Gayā-uddhṛtā²⁶ gatā(h*) //

TRANSLATION

[Symbol—Let there be success.] Let there be success. On Thursday, the 15th lunar day of the dark half of Jyeṣṭha in the year 1297 of king Vikramāditya, when *Suratāṇa* Maujadīna, who is the forest-fire to the grass and dry wood that are the numerous powerful enemies, was ruling the kingdom, the illustrious *Mantreśvara*-Kāmadeva, who is the son of Ajayapāla, grandson of Uttara and great-grandson of Jagatpāla and belongs to the Ājahila(Ājihina)-gotra and to the Sopatha family that is the foremost clan of the Kṣatriya community, performed Gayā (i.e. the *śrāddha* of his ancestors at Gayā) together with his wife. Likewise, his brother Rājadeva, father of Jaitrapāla, also performed Gayā (i.e. the *śrāddha*, probably of Jaitrapāla, at Gayā). The witness [to the performance of the ceremonies] is Prapitāmaha (i.e. the god Prapitāmaheśvara of Gayā). Let there be welfare for the world. [The people whose *śrāddha* has been performed] at Gayā have obtained their deliverance [from their sins or the effects of their *karman*].

23 Read *Ājihina*.

24 The passage *Gayā kṛtā* really means *Gayā-śrāddham kṛtam*.

25 The *danda* is unnecessary.

26 Read *Gay-uddhṛtāḥ*. The meaning of the passage is *Gayā-śrāddhena uddhṛtāḥ gauāḥ*. The cursive form of *visarga* in *hah* and *tah* in this line may be compared with the sign in *teḥ* in line 1.

APPENDIX

Ansari's Transcript and Translation

TEXT

1. Om siddhi rastu/vikramādityanṛpatchi/samvat 1257 jyeṣṭha vadi 15 ravau/Pravalatarāṇi Kṛ-
2. ta tṛṇa dviṣat kakṣa dāvānalo Śrī Suratāṇa Mojdīna rājyām kurvāṇe Nṛ-
3. pa pravara kulsoya dhanārthaya Nājahīla gotrīne Śrī Jagatpāla Prapitāmahena/
4. ...? rapitāmahena/Ajayapāla Pitrakena/Śrī Mantrēśvara Kāmadevena Gaja-
5. tā sapatnīkena/tadā(yā ?) trātrā (tathā bhrātrā ?) Bājadevena Jaitrapālaja labdhena Gayākṛta
6. Prapitāmahakṣayāhni/sā janjava (śrutiambha ?) śrī (vato ?) jagatagho (jagatotha ?) Gayāsu hatā (Gayā uddhritā ?)/ matā (gatā ?)

TRANSLATION

1. O Supreme Being, let it be so ! On *Rabau* (Sunday) the 15th day of the dark half *Vadi* of the month of *Jyeṣṭha* in the royal *Vikramāditya* *Samvat* (year) 1257 (14 May A.D. 1200), while the resplendent and blazing Sun-like,
2. overpoweringly effective and all-pervasive like forest conflagration, possessing the quality of reducing dry grass and wood to ashes when faced with the neighbouring enemies, the supreme most among the kings *Śrī Sultāṇa Mojdīna* (revered *Sultāṇ Muizzuddīn*) was reigning for the sake of wealth (of future prosperity or of the future reward of virtue),
3. the descendant of the exalted royal family belonging to the *Nājahīla* lineage or clan or hereditary group (*gotra*), whose great-grandfather was *Śrī Jagatpāla*

- 4and whose paternal ancestor (father) was Ajayapāla,
Śrī Mantreśvara, along with Gaja-
5. tā, his wife, and his brother (or cousin) Bājadeva, the
son of Jaitrapāla, from whom he had acquired the
[ancestral] wealth, performed the [religious] rite or duty
at Gayā,
6. on the occasion of the day of death of his paternal great-
grandfather. The fact of his arrival in, and departure
from, Gayā is known to the whole universe.

KṢATRAPAKA

SAMARESH BANDYOPADHYAY

The Prakrit text entitled *Āngavijjā*, while classifying words as masculine, feminine and neuter, mentions the word *khattapaka* as the name of a coin and states that it belongs to the first class.¹ Prakrit *khattapaka* stands for Sanskrit *kṣatrapaka* associated with the official designation *Kṣatrapa* which according to Rapson, appears first in Indian coin legends and inscriptions of the second century B.C.² The word is itself a Sanskritised form of the Old Persian *Khshathrapāvan* mentioned in the Behistun inscription.³ Rapson, H. C. Raychaudhuri and D. C. Sircar take it to mean 'the protector of the land', 'the protector of the kingdom', and 'a provincial governor' respectively.⁴ The mention of the word in its Prakrit form in a text, generally taken to have been compiled at the close of the Kuṣāṇa period and probably retouched during the Gupta age, is interesting as it also disproves Rapson's opinion that it has never been found in Sanskrit or Prakrit literature.⁵

Scholars have unanimously taken the word *khattapaka* to denote the coins issued by the Kṣatrapa rulers of Western

1 *Āngavijjā*, ed. Punyavijaya, Banaras, 1957, Ch. IX, i—

Suvaṇṇa-māsako va tti taha rayaya-māsao|
Dīnāra-māsako va tti tadho ṣaṇam ca māsako || 185
Kāhāpaṇo khattapako purāṇo tti va jo vade|
Saterako tti tarī savvarī purnāmasanamādise || 186

2 E. J. Rapson, *Catalogue of Coins*, 1908, p. c.

3 H. C. Raychaudhuri, *Political History of Ancient India*, 6th ed., 1953, p. 443.

4 Rapson, *loc. cit.*; Raychaudhuri, *loc. cit.*; D. C. Sircar, *Indian Epigraphy*, 1965, pp. 333, 353. According to J. N. Panerjea, the word means 'protector of the realm' (*Comp. Hist. Ind.*, Vol. II, 1957, p. 263).

5 Rapson, *loc. cit.*

India, to which interesting light has been thrown by certain Pali passages. C. D. Chatterjee⁶ quotes and translates the passages as follows—

1. *tadā Rājagaha vīsatī-māsako kahāpaṇo hoti / tasmā pañca-māsako pādo / etena lakkhaṇena sabba-janapadesu kahā-paṇassa catuttho bhāgo pādo ti veditabbo / so ca kho porāṇassa nīla-kahāpaṇassa vasena / na itaresām rudradāmakādīnām /⁷*

‘At the time in Rājagaha (Rājagrīha), one *kahāpaṇa* was equal to twenty *māsakas*, wherefore one *pāda* was equal to five *māsakas*. By this standard it is to be understood that, in all the provinces, the quarter of *kahāpaṇa* is a *pāda*. But this is in respect of the ancient *nīla-kahāpaṇa*, [and] not of these [latter day] *rudradāmaka* [coin] and those which have been modelled after it.’

2. *Iminā va sabba-janapadesu kahāpaṇassa vīsatimo bhāgo māsako ti / idāñ=ca vuttam=eva hot=iti datṭhabbām / Porāṇa-satī-ānurūpa-lakkhaṇa-sampannā uppāditā nīla-kahāpaṇā ti veditabbā / Rudradāmakeṇa uppādito rudradāmako / sa kira nīla-kahāpaṇassa tibhāgām agghati /⁸*

‘It must be borne in mind that by this (i.e. the *Samantapāsādikā* passage cited above) it has been said that, in all the provinces, the twentieth part of a *kahāpaṇa* is a *māsaka*. A *nīla-kahāpaṇa* is to be understood as being manufactured with marks following the ancient [numismatic] treatises. A *rudradāmaka* [coin] is one which has been manufactured

6 C. D. Chatterjee, ‘Some Numismatic Data in Pali Literature’ in *Buddhistic Studies*, ed. B. C. Law, Calcutta, 1931, pp. 383-452. See also Chatterjee’s paper entitled ‘Some Numismatic Terms in Pali Texts’ in *JUPHS*, Vol. VI, 1933, pp. 156-73.

7 *Samantapāsādikā* on the *Suttavibhāga*, *Pārājikā* II. 1.6. See *Vinaya Pitaka*, ed. H. Oldenberg, Vol. III, p. 45.

8 *Sāratthadīpanī* (commentary on Buddhaghosa’s *Samantapāsādikā* by Sāriputta), Sinhalese ed., Vol. I, p. 493.

by Rudradāman. This [money-piece] is said to be equivalent to three-quarters of a *nīla-kahāpana*.⁹

3. *Porānakassa ti porāna-satth-ānurūpam = uppāditassa lakkhaṇa-sampannassa nīla-kahāpana-sadisassa kahāpanassā. Etena rudradāmakādīni patikkhipati.....Māsako nāma porānakassa kahāpanassā vīsatimo bhāgo yā loke mañjeṭṭhī ti pi vuccati /^o*

'The expression *porānakassa* (i.e., 'of the ancient') applies to the *kahāpana* manufactured with marks according to the ancient numismatic treatises, and resembling the *nīla-kahāpana*. By this [expression] are excluded the *rudradāmaka* [coin] and those which have been modelled after it.....*Māsaka* is, indeed, the twentieth part of an ancient *kahāpana*, which is also called *mañjeṭṭhī* in this world.'

The passages thus describe the ancient punch-marked silver *kārṣāpaṇas* as *nīla-kahāpana* and distinguish the same from the *rudradāmaka* coins which were minted by Rudradāman, the great Śaka Satrap who ruled in c. 130-50 A.D. Buddhaghosa applies the epithet *purāṇa* (i.e., old or old-fashioned) to the *nīla-kahāpana*, while it has been stated by his commentators that this coin was what was manufactured with special marks in accordance with the specification of treatises (*paurāṇa-śāstra*, i.e., a book dealing with the *purāṇa* coins) such as the *Rūpasūtra* (*porāna-satth-ānurūpa-lakkhaṇa-sampannā uppādītā*).¹⁰ According to D. C. Sircar, the *nīla-kahāpana* was undoubtedly the silver *kārṣāpaṇa* called *purāṇa* (a term actually used in the description of

⁹ *Vinayatthamañjūsā* (commentary on Buddhaghosa's *Kaikhāvītarani* by Buddhāṅga who flourished in the twelfth century A.D.), ed. U.P. Ekanayaka, Sinhalese ed. (Colombo, 1912), p. 77.

¹⁰ The *Rūpasutta* (Sanskrit *Rūpasūtra*) is mentioned in Buddhaghosa's commentary on the *Mahāvagga*. The commentary states that he who learns the *Rūpasutta* must turn over many *kārṣāpaṇas* and look at them. Cf. D. R. Bhandarkar, *Carmichael Lectures*, 1921, p. 126.

the coin by Buddhaghosa) or *dharana* and weighing 32 *ratis* or 58.56 grains.¹¹ If, as seems probable, the theoretical weight of the *rudradāmaka* or Śaka-style *kārṣāpāṇa* was about 40 grains or slightly more, it was actually three-fourths of the *purāṇa* or old silver *kārṣāpāṇa* in weight and value. C. D. Chatterjee thinks that these coins had the theoretical weight standard of 42 grains.¹² But, according to D. C. Sircar, the evidence of the *Sāratthadīpani* should not be taken too literally.¹³ The available specimens, however, display a good deal of variation in weight. Rapson has recorded weights ranging from 28 grains to 38 grains, his specimens No. 320 weighing 37 grains and No. 324, 38 grains.

According to C. D. Chatterjee, J. N. Banerjea and V. S. Agrawala, the expression *rudradāmakādi* denotes the Satrapal issues in silver which had been modelled after those of Rudradāman I, i.e., it indicates the silver issues of the successors of Rudradāman I.¹⁴ Chatterjee, however, admits that, numismatically speaking, the term is a misnomer, because this new type of silver coinage which is thus attributed to Rudradāman I as its originator, had really originated with his predecessors, Nahapāna and Caṣṭana, specially Nahapāna, and, as such, words like *nahapānādi* or *caṣṭanādi* would have been more appropriate. But he opines that these silver coins came to be associated with the name of Rudradāman I, because, he was by far the most famous of all the Western Satraps, and was more worthy of being remembered by the posterity for qualities, to which his famous Junagadh epigraph bears an eloquent testimony.¹⁵

11 *JNSI*, Vol. XIII, p. 189.

12 *Buddhistic Studies*, ed. B. C. Law, p. 423.

13 *JNSI*, Vol. XIII, p. 189, note 3.

14 C. D. Chatterjee, *op. cit.*, p. 392; J. N. Banerjea, *op. cit.*, p. 809; V. S. Agrawala, *JNSI*, Vol. XIX, p. 25.

15 *Op. cit.*, p. 417.

D. C. Sircar, however, does not accept the suggestion that the word *rudradāmakādi* means the coins minted by the successors of Rudradāman I on the model of the original *rudradāmaka* coins on the following grounds —

- (i) that the expression simply means 'the *rudradāmaka* and others (i.e., other silver coins or *kārṣāpanas*)' ;
- (ii) that the silver coins of the Śakas of Western India are of a single type following the weight standard of the Graeco-Indian *hemidrachm* and weighing between 34 and 36 grains (the standard weight may, however, have been a little higher) instead of 58.56 grains (the weight of Manu's *purāna* or *dharana*, otherwise called the silver *kārṣāpana*), although in epigraphic records they are mentioned as *kārṣāpana* ;¹⁶ and
- (iii) that it does not seem likely that the ordinary people of the fifth century A. D. were able to distinguish easily the silver issues of Rudradāman I from those of the other Śaka rulers of Western India.

In Sircar's opinion, there is hardly any doubt that Buddha-*ghoṣa* and his commentators speak of the whole class of silver coins issued by the Śaka rulers of Western India as *rudradāmaka* after Rudradāman.¹⁷ Further, he thinks that the class probably includes non-Śaka silver coins of about the same weight standard such as those of Gautamiputra Yajñā-Śātakarni,¹⁸ the Guptas¹⁹ and others.

The statement of the *Sāratthadīpani* that the name *rudradāmaka* was applied to the coins issued by Rudradāman I reveals the interesting fact that the memory of that mighty

16 Rapson, *op. cit.*, p. clxxxiv.

17 *JNSI*, Vol. XIII, pp. 188-89.

18 Rapson, *op. cit.*, p. lxxxix.

19 Allan, *Catalogue of Coins* (Gupta), p. lxxxvi. The Gupta silver coin was generally known as *rūpaka*.

Satrap's exploits and achievements was looming large long after the end of his reign in the second century A.D. and the extirpation of the Sakas of Western India by the Imperial Guptas about the end of the fourth century A.D.²⁰

V. S. Agrawala appears to make a distinction between the *khattapaka* and *rudradāmaka* when he says (i) that the implication of the *Samantapāśādikā* passage seems to be that the term *kahāpaṇa* was of very wide application and included all kinds of old and new silver coins, under which each class was distinguished by its special name like the *purāṇa*, *rudradāmaka*, *khattapaka*, etc.; and (ii) that the *khattapaka* and *rudradāmaka* would both come under the general class of recent (*bāla* or *ṇava*) coins compared to *purāṇa* which belongs to the older or original (*ādimūla*) class.²¹ But it is difficult to make any such distinction; and if, as seems probable, Sircar's suggestion that *rudradāmaka* stands for the whole class of the Śaka Silver coins and probably also the non-Śaka silver issues having approximately the same weight standard is accepted, then it seems that the *khattapaka* and *rudradāmaka* denote the same class of coins.

The Pali passages clearly prove that, side by side with the *nila-kahāpaṇa*, the Śaka coins were in circulation at least as late as the fifth century A.D. when Buddhaghoṣa flourished, a fact that seems to be supported by the *Āngavijjā* which, as has already been noted, also mentions simultaneously the *kahāpaṇa*, *khattapaka* and *purāṇa*. According to Moti Chandra, the mention of the *suvarṇa-māsaka*, *ṇāṇa*, *māsaka*, *kahāpaṇa*, *khattapaka*, *sateraka* and *purāṇa* at one place in the *Āngavijjā* probably throws some light on the date of its composition, when the Kusāṇa and Kṣatrapa coins

20 *JNSI*, Vol. XIII, p. 189.

21 *Āngavijjā*, Intro., pp. 91, 93.

were either in currency or fairly well known.²² Though the real significance of the simultaneous mention of the three coin-names cannot be fully brought out with the help of available evidence, still from the interesting fact that the *purāṇa* has been clearly defined in the *Āngavijjā* as older and original (*ādimūlesu purāṇe būyā*) it appears that the *khattapaka* probably belonged to the 'recent' (*bālesu ḡavāye būyā*) class. As has been stated above, V. S. Agarwala actually takes the *khattapaka* as belonging to the 'recent' class.²³ However, the importance of the simultaneous mention of the three, especially the *khattapaka* and the *purāṇa*, cannot be ignored and, if U. P. Shah's view that the *Āngavijjā* is a Jain work of the sixth century A. D.²⁴ can be accepted, then it may not be unreasonable to assume that the *khattapaka* coins were current upto that century or, at least, their memory was still fresh.

22 *Ibid.*, p. 41.

23 *Ibid.*, p. 93.

24 *JNSI*, Vol. XIV, p. 110.

SOURCES OF THE EARLY HISTORY OF ORISSA

R. C. MAJUMDAR

It is well known that we do not possess any regular chronicle dealing with the history of ancient India, and it has been reconstructed, almost in its entirety, from three different sources : (1) archaeology, (2) scattered references in literature, and (3) foreign accounts. The same observation applies more or less to every State in India except Kashmir, and fully to Orissa. As elsewhere in India, the archaeological finds constitute the most important source of information for the history of this State. But the value of the other two sources in respect of the history of Orissa is very small as compared to many other States. We may deal with the above sources separately.

1. ARCHAEOLOGICAL SOURCE

(a) *Inscriptions*

Of the three classes of archaeological source materials, viz. inscriptions, monuments and coins, the first is undoubtedly the most important. The oldest inscription is that of the Maurya emperor Aśoka, two of whose series of fourteen Rock Edicts are found in Orissa. The first series is engraved on a rock called Aswastama, situated near the village of Dhauli, about seven miles to the south of Bhubaneswar in the Puri District. The other copy is inscribed on the face of a rock in an old fort called Jaugada (lac-fort), not far from the bank of the Rishikulya river, about 18 miles to the west-north-west of the town of Ganjam. In both these copies, two new edicts take the place of Nos. XI, XII and XIII of the regular series.¹ The

¹ Bhandarkar's statement (*Aśoka*, 2nd ed., p. 271) that "the Four-

omission of the last is easy to explain; for it contains a vivid account of the sanguinary war waged by Asoka in Kalinga in course of which one thousand people were slain and one hundred fifty thousand were captured. It was obviously thought undesirable to keep a record of this inhuman brutalities in the land of the very people who suffered therefrom. Yet this is the only record in the whole series which throws any light on the history of Orissa. The reason for the omission of the other two records, Nos. XI and XII, is not obvious. The two edicts substituted for the regular three are specifically addressed to the imperial officials of the two localities. These describe the benign principles of government adopted by Asoka and were no doubt meant to soothe the feelings of the brave people who had so recently been subjugated after a hard and terrible fight.

The next point of time, and in a sense the most important inscription ever found in Orissa, is the Hāthigumpha inscription of Khāravela engraved on the over-hanging brow of a cave in the Udayagiri hill near Bhubaneswar. It describes the achievements of the said powerful ruler, the first great emperor of Orissa, known to history. It also incidentally mentions some earlier events, the most important of which is the reference to a Nanda ruler. The Udayagiri hill also contains a record of the queen of Khāravela and another of Vakradeva, perhaps an earlier king.

After this there is practically a big gap in the epigraphic source of Orissan history, extending over four centuries or even more. This long gap is partially explained by the fact that Orissa formed a part of the Gupta empire. An

teen Rock Edicts (*minus* Edicts XII and XIII)" are engraved in the first series (Dhauli) is not accurate. Cf. Hultzsch, *Inscriptions of Asoka*, p. xiii.

inscription found at the village of Sumandala in Khallikote, Ganjam District, proves that the suzerainty of the Guptas continued even so late as 569-70 A.D. Not long after this, we find the records of the Māna dynasty, followed by those of the Śailodbhavas who acknowledged the authority of Śāśāṅka till at least 619 A.D. Śāśāṅka's own records also prove his rule over Orissa. The early Gaṅga kings of Kalinga are known from a series of records beginning from the sixth century A.D. ; but it is difficult to determine whether Orissa or any part of it was included in their dominions, except perhaps for a temporary period.

The Śailodbhavas have left a number of records which enable us to reconstruct an outline of their political history. For the period after the Śailodbhavas, we possess quite a large number of inscriptions. The number must be regarded as unusually large if we remember the small extent of the territory within which they were found, and also the fact that there was no powerful dynasty ruling in this region, whose authority extended beyond Orissa or even over the whole of it.

As a matter of fact, the small State of Orissa has yielded inscriptions far exceeding in number those that have been found during the same period in Bengal, though ruled over by powerful dynasties like the Pālas and Senas. But unfortunately most of the records of Orissa supply little historical information beyond the names of rulers. Further, though most of these are dated, the years are either regnal or belong to one or more little known eras. Hence it is an exceedingly difficult task to arrange the different dynasties in a proper chronological order or to establish political relations between them.

Among the dynasties known from these records, the most important is the Kara. No less than seventeen or eighteen members of this royal family are known to us, of whom

five or six were women—a unique phenomenon in Indian history. Next in point of importance are the Bhañjas of whom we possess a large number of records. There were several branches, the most notable being those of Khijjali and Khijjinga. There are good reasons to connect the latter with the ruling chiefs of the old Mayurbhanj State, and we have thus unbroken epigraphic record of a ruling family extending over a thousand years, of which there are very few instances in Indian history.

The epigraphic records also reveal the existence of minor dynasties the names of whose rulers end respectively in the words *tunga*, *varāha*, *stambha* and *nanda*, there being also the Śvetaka branch of the Gaṅgas of Kaliṅga. The second of these is designated as Mayūra-vaiśa, migrating from the Citrakūṭa mountain, and the third belongs to the Śulki family, probably identical with the Śūlikas mentioned in the Harāhā inscription of the Maukhari king Isānavarman.² More than one of these are said to have ruled over the same territories. Thus the Tungas and a ruler named Jayasimha ruled over the Yamagartā-mandala, while both of them and the Śulkis ruled over 'the eighteen Gondramas'. Sometimes, one of the surnames occurs in another family. Thus we have two names ending in *tunga* in the Nanda family. It is, therefore, likely that the above ruling families were connected by political and social ties; but this cannot be definitely determined in the present state of our knowledge.

We have next to refer to the records of two powerful dynasties who conquered Orissa from outside, viz. the Somavamśis of Kosala and the Later Gaṅgas of Kaliṅga. Although foreigners, both of these settled in Orissa and loom large in its history.

Some light is thrown on the history of Orissa by the records of rulers of the neighbouring countries. Thus Devapāla of the Pāla dynasty and king Harṣa of the Bhagadatta dynasty are said to have conquered Orissa ; but no record of any of these has actually been found in that State. The Sena records also contain some hints about the political relations between Bengal and Orissa. Similar light is thrown upon the history of Orissa by the inscriptions of other ruling dynasties.

The epigraphic records thus constitute the most plentiful source of information regarding the political history of Orissa. It is hardly necessary to add that they are at the same time the most reliable.

(b) *Monuments*

Orissa is very rich in ancient monuments—even more than in epigraphic records. The recent excavations at Śiśupalagṛh near Bhubaneswar have brought to light very interesting antiquities. But the extant remains on the surface are also of great value. We have a number of old rock-cut caves dating back to the early centuries of the Christian era, which give us also specimens of sculpture of this early period. But the most important are the series of temples with the curvilinear *sikhara*, which enable us to trace the gradual evolution of a style of architecture which, with slight modifications here and there, reigned supreme all over Northern India. The fine sculptures which adorn these temples also include some of the best specimens of medieval Indian art. The monuments of Orissa testify to the greatness of her culture and civilization which nobody could possibly infer from her political history. From this point of view, the monuments are of far greater value than epigraphic records. The temples of Bhubaneswar, Puri and Konarak are mute, but eloquent, witnesses of the

past glory of a great people, of which no written record has been preserved.

(c) *Coins*

The punch-marked coins, the oldest currency in India, were in use in Orissa. From the strata where they were found in the excavations at Śiśupālgad̄h, it appears that they were in circulation before the beginning of the Christian era. In addition to silver and copper, lead was also used as material for coins, probably about the second century A.D. It appears that lead currency was more popular than copper in the third and fourth centuries A.D., and this was probably due to the occurrence of lead ore in the District of Sambalpur. Moulds of punch-marked coins have been discovered in the course of excavations at Śiśupālgad̄h, proving that these were locally manufactured.³

Next in point of time were the Kuṣāṇa coins. These may be divided into two classes, viz., (1) copper coins of Kaniṣka and Huviṣka and (2) the so-called Puri-Kuṣāṇa coins. One copper coin each of Kaniṣka and Huviṣka was found at Śiśupālgad̄h⁴ while large numbers were found in several hoards in the old State of Mayurbhanj.⁵ They were always found along with the other class.

The Puri-Kuṣāṇa coins are imitations of the early Kuṣāṇa coins and were in use as early as 200 A.D.⁶ They

3 *Ancient India*, No. 5, pp. 95, 97.

4 *Loc. cit.*

5 *IHQ*, Vol. XXVII, p. 294; *JNSI*, Vol. XIII, p. 107; Vol. XV, p. 186; *An. Rep. ASI*, 1924-25, pp. 110-32.

6 The current view is that the Puri-Kuṣāṇa coins were issued about the 4th century A.D. (*JNSI*, Vol. XII, p. 1; Allan, *Catalogue* (Anc. Ind.), p. cxxii. But these coins were found at Śiśupālgad̄h in the stratum of 200 A.D. (*Ancient India*, *op. cit.*, pp. 96-97). For other views and a general account of these coins, cf. Rapson, *Indian Coins*, p. 13; *JBORS*. V, pp. 73 ff.

have been discovered not only in the District of Puri, as the name signifies, but also in the old Mayurbhanj State and the Districts of Balasore and Ganjam and also in the neighbouring Singhbhum. The name Oriya-Kuṣāṇa would therefore be more appropriate than the current designation.⁷ Some of these were inscribed in characters of the fourth century A.D. and the legend has been read as *taika* on a large number discovered at different sites.⁸ R. D. Banerji, however, refers these coins to the sixth century A.D.⁹

The bearing of these coins on the political history of Orissa is a matter of keen dispute. Some suggest that they indicate a political domination of the Kuṣāṇas over Orissa.¹⁰ This is no doubt a very natural inference ; but there are serious objections to it.¹¹

It must be admitted, however, that the currency of the coins of the Kuṣāṇas, long after they had ceased to rule, and in a territory not forming a part of their empire, is a very unusual phenomenon. It has been suggested that, in the absence or shortage of local coins, these coins, which were current in Mathurā and Kānyakubja, infiltrated, by way of trade, to Orissa during the third century, and there they remained in use for a long time.¹²

Reference may be made to a unique gold coin of this class discovered at Śiśupālgadḥ.¹³ On the obverse occurs the usual Kuṣāṇa motif, but the reverse imitates the head of a Roman emperor. The legend is indistinct, but probably

7 *An. Rep. ASI*, 1924-25, p. 132.

8 Allan, *op. cit.*, p. cxxii. Allan, however, reads the legend as *teṅka* or *laṅka*.

9 The Balasore hoard alone contained 63 coins of this type (*An. Rep. ASI*, 1924-25, p. 131).

10 *JNSI*, Vol. XIII, p. 107 ; *IHQ*, Vol. XXVII, p. 294.

11 *JNSI*, Vol. XV, pp. 185 ff.

12 *Ibid.*, p. 191.

13 *Ancient India*, No. 5, pp. 97, 100 ; *JNSI*, Vol. XII, pp. 1-4.

stands for *Mahārāja-Rājādhīrāja-Dharmadamatdhara*. The coin has been referred to the third century A.D., and may be regarded as the earliest gold coin to be issued by a Hindu king. That a king of Orissa should imitate a Roman head is undoubtedly very strange. But we know from Pliny that gold coins of the Roman emperors flowed in large quantities to India every year, and large numbers of them have actually been discovered in South India. A number of such coins have also been found in various parts of Uttar Pradesh, and a hoard of gold coins, including those of Gordian (date 244 A.D.) was unearthed in the Singhbhum District.¹⁴ The kings and people of Orissa must have therefore been familiar with these coins which probably reached their country by way of trade either directly from Rome, or from South India. In view of the fact that Orissa had a long sea-coast and a good port not far from its southern boundary, the first alternative cannot be regarded as beyond the bounds of possibility.

It is not a little curious that, though an Orissan king issued a coin in his own name as early as the third century A.D., no other ruler in this region followed his example during the next eight hundred years. Though there were many ruling dynasties before 1100 A.D., as noted above, no coins issued by them have yet come to light. Hence the coins have not proved to be as fruitful a source of history in Orissa as in many other States of India.

2. LITERARY SOURCE

There is one initial difficulty in utilising the literary source for the history of Orissa. There are two well-known names, Odra and Utkala, which are generally recognised to be old designations of Orissa. But none of these denoted

the whole of the Oriya-speaking tract of today. According to some scholars, there was a time when the land inhabited by the *Odra* people 'comprised Western Midnapur and perhaps Mānbhūm or the eastern part of Singhbhūm and south Bankura'¹⁵—territories lying entirely outside Orissa. The boundaries of Utkala and *Odra*, when specified in old texts, vary from one another as will be shown later. When therefore the name appears in a literary text, without any definition of its limits, we cannot be sure of the exact locality connoted by it.

Still greater difficulty and confusion are caused by the fact that *Kaliṅga* was sometimes used as a generic name to denote the whole of the eastern coast land, from the *Gaṅgā*, the *Vaitaraṇī* or the *Mahānādī* in the north to the *Godāvarī* in the south, thus including the whole or part of Orissa. But more often *Kaliṅga* designated the country to the south of Orissa and quite distinct from it. It is not, therefore, easy to deduce from the name *Kaliṅga* alone whether it has to be taken in the wider or more restricted sense. It would thus be quite wrong to take the literary data, referring to *Kaliṅga*, as necessarily applicable to Orissa also, unless we have specific evidence in support of it. We are not justified in making Orissa shine in the reflected glory of *Kaliṅga*; but, by following this correct procedure, we may be guilty of ignoring valuable data about Orissa.

None of the names Utkala, *Odra* and *Kaliṅga* occurs in the Vedic literature or in Pāṇini's grammar. It is, however, interesting to note that according to the *Harivamśa*, Ilā, the daughter of Manu, the progenitor of the human race, was transformed into a Kimpuruṣa named *Saudyumna*, and he had three sons, the first two of whom, Utkala and Gaya, respectively ruled over the Utkala country and

15 H. K. Mahtab, *History of Orissa*, p. 2.

the Gayā territory. The Kalingas are also said in the Purāṇas to have sprung from the union of the sage Dirghatamas with the wife of the Asura king Bali. All this would take back the Aryan settlement in Utkala to a hoary antiquity. But such later legends can hardly form the basis of sober history. On the other hand, Odra, referred to in the *Rāmāyaṇa*, *Mahābhārata* and the early Purāṇas, is mostly mentioned along with foreign or aboriginal Non-aryan tribes such as Yavana, Śaka, Pārada, Pulinda, Paundra, etc. Many find a similar reference in the *Manusamhitā*; but Bühler takes the name to be Coda instead of Odra. It is not till we come to the age of the later Purāṇas that Orissa is described, not as a land of the barbarians, but as a sacred land full of holy places. The *Skanda Purāṇa* relates the story of king Indradyumna who set up the image of Jagannātha on the Nilācala (i.e. the Puri hills) and describes some of the specially sacred sites of Puri. The *Brahma Purāṇa* praises, in two Chapters, the sanctity of Puri and Bhubaneswar, and the *Śiva Purāṇa* describes Utkala-kṣetra to be as great as Kailāsa itself. Several other Purāṇas contain similar references. But none of these, particularly the sections concerning Orissa, can be dated even approximately. There are, besides, works which devote themselves exclusively to a description of the holy places of Orissa. The principal among these are the *Kapilasamhitā*, *Ekāmra Purāṇa*, *Puruṣottamamāhātmya*, *Ekāmracandrikā*, *Tīrthacintāmaṇi* and *Puruṣottamatattva*. The first of these, probably the oldest, says, "Among continents that of Bhārata, and among countries that of Utkala are the noblest and nowhere on the face of the earth is there a country like unto it." This spirit is reflected in all other medieval works of the same type. But the works do not supply any historical information. They contain elaborate description of towns, villages, holy sites, and sacred streams and fountains whose

waters remove sins, etc., but tell us nothing about the people living in this region or of the kings who ruled over them. No dates are ever mentioned and reference is only made to the Satya, Tretā and Dvāpara *yugas* in order to give some idea of the time.

There are, however, some casual references in these works which are valuable. Thus according to the *Brahma Purāṇa*,¹⁶ Odra extended northwards to Viraja-māṇḍala which is identified with Jājpur, and consisted of three sacred kṣetras called Puruṣottama (Puri), Arka-kṣetra (Konarak) and Viraja-kṣetra through which flows the Vaitarāṇī (Balasore). This gives a fair idea of the location and extent of Odra, though unfortunately we cannot give even an approximate idea of the time when this was true. This is all the more regrettable as we get conflicting views about the location in different texts. Thus, while, according to the *Mahābhārata*, Utkala formed a part of Kalinga¹⁷ with the river Vaitarāṇī as its northern boundary, the two are described as separate kingdoms in the *Brahma Purāṇa*. Again, according to the *Tārātantra*, the southern boundary of Utkala was Jagannātha.

Orissa is also occasionally referred to in secular literature. Thus Kālidāsa, in his *Raghuvamśa*, IV, makes his hero enter into Utkala after crossing the Kapiśā (Kansai in Midnapur), and hence proceed towards Kalinga. This reference is valuable from the point of view of geography. For it clearly distinguishes Utkala and Kalinga and gives us a precise location of the former in Kālidāsa's time. Similarly the *Trikāṇḍaśeṣa*, a lexicographical work of the early medieval period, states unequivocally that Odra is the same as Utkala. This proves that, although originally

16 Chapters 28, 29, 42.

17 *Vana-parvan*, Chapter 114.

the two might have denoted separate regions, they had merged together into a common province.

There are other casual references to Orissa in early literary texts ; but these do not convey any important information. The *Bṛhatsaṃhitā* of Varāhamihira (6th century A.D.) repeatedly mentions the Odras in connection with the effect of eclipses under particular conjunctions. The *Ratnāvalī*, a dramatic work of the seventh century A.D., describes how a princess of Ceylon was ship-wrecked on the Orissan coast.

The Buddhist canonical texts contain a very interesting reference to Utkala. It is said that two merchants from this country named Trapuṣa and Bhallika, while going with their caravan of 500 carts, met the Buddha shortly after his attainment of *bodhi*, and became his first lay disciples. The Buddha gave them some hairs of his head, and the merchants preserved these as a sacred relic in a sanctuary which they built in their native land. Buddhist literature also contains references to Buddhism in this region. The sacred tooth-relic of the Buddha was deposited in Dantapura, capital of Kalinga, for eight hundred years till it was transferred to Ceylon.

Orissa can boast of important chronicles of political history known as *Mādalā Pāñjī*. Beginning from the Satya-yuga, these chronicles record, year by year and even day by day, every important event that happened in Orissa in connection with the famous image of Jagannātha at Puri and its chief devotees, the rulers of Puri. They thus profess to narrate the history of Orissa from the earliest times to the present day. Unfortunately, the language shows that they are late compilations, probably of the sixteenth century A.D.¹⁸ The authors had probably access to some

18 Some scholars claim a high antiquity for the *Mādalā Pāñjī*. It has been held, for example, by a scholar of Orissa that it goes back

old records, and knew some historical facts, though in a garbled form. But the composition as a whole is full of fanciful inventions and imaginary stories, and cannot be regarded as a source of political history of any real value, so far at least as the early period is concerned.

The meaning of the word *mādalā* is not definitely known. It has been suggested that "the word is derived from *mudala*, sealed with *mudi* or ring. *Mādalā Pāñjī* would thus mean a chronicle of the [royal] orders." It really consists of a number of chronicles of the Jagannātha temple at Puri. Though devoid of much historical value, these chronicles supply valuable geographical information. They furnish us with two valuable lists pertaining to the whole of Orissa, one of lands allotted to the gods Jagannātha and Kṛittivāsa, and the other of the gods who were endowed with grants of money from the Government. As the localities of these gods are also indicated, those lists "supply us with the names of many villages and their fiscal divisions as existing towards the close of the Hindu rule."¹⁹

The *Mādalā Pāñjī* also describes the extent of the kingdom of Orissa and the conquests of king Anaṅgabhīmadeva in the form of a statement attributed to this king; but this is certainly apocryphal.²⁰

Some books written in Bengal also throw some light on the history of Orissa. Thus the *Rāmacarita* of Sandhyākaranandin incidentally refers to Rāmapāla's political relations with Orissa. The *Ballālacarita* also refers to Vijayasena's friendly relations with Cōdāgāṅga.

to the eleventh century A.D. when the annals "were begun to be preserved in the Puri temple by king Cōdāgāṅgadeva" (*Proc. A.-I. Or. Conf.*, VI, p. 382). But H. K. Mahtab, another Orissan scholar, accepts the date sixteenth century A.D. (*loc. cit.*), as supported by many (cf. Subba Rao in *JAHRS*, Vol. V, p. 197).

19 *JPASB*, New Series, Vol. XII, p. 29.

20 *Ibid.*, p. 31.

3. FOREIGN ACCOUNTS

The accounts of foreign travellers throw much valuable light on the early history of India; but we get little information of real value from this source, so far as Orissa is concerned. There is no definite mention of it in the *Periplus of the Erythraean Sea*, though some scholars find in 'the region of Dosarene,' yielding the ivory known as Dosarenic, a reference to Orissa. This identification is very doubtful, though, curiously enough, the *Mahābhārata* refers to ivory as the most acceptable offering which the king of the Odras could take to the Pāndava monarch.

Ptolemy mentions the rivers and some localities in Orissa, but does not give us any other useful information. Pliny also refers to Kalinga and the Orissan coast, but does not add much to our knowledge.

The Chinese traveller Fa-hien did not visit Orissa; but Hiuen-tsang, who passed through it, gives quite an interesting account of U-ch'a which evidently stands for Udra. It was not then a powerful State, and was conquered by Harṣa about 643 A.D. Hiuen-tsang calls the people of Orissa uncivilized. The majority of them followed Buddhism, and there were one hundred Buddhist monasteries. He refers to a port and the maritime activities of the people. He also describes the soil as rich and fertile. A critical study of his itinerary helps us to fix the location and boundary of this kingdom in his time.

There is a very interesting reference to Orissa in a Chinese historical chronicle. It records the fact that, in 795 A.D., a king of Wu-ch'a (Udra) sent an autographed Buddhist manuscript to the Chinese emperor Te-tsung. The value of this statement in fixing the chronology of the kings of Orissa is very great.

There are also notices of Orissa in the records of Tibet.²¹

²¹ *Ibid.*, Vol. III, pp. 211 ff., 225 ff.

These are mostly legends concerned with Buddhism and hardly possess much historical importance. Besides, the data, which possess any historical value, are associated with two geographical names. The first is given under variant forms like Uḍḍiyāna, Oddiyāna, Odyāna, Odiyana, etc. H. P. Śāstri identified it with Orissa and drew very important conclusions about the Buddhist Tāntrik religion in the said country. But other scholars identify the locality with Udyāna in the Swat valley. The second name is Dhānyakaṭaka which has been identified by Sarat Chandra Das with Cuttack in Orissa ; but it is almost certainly to be identified with Dhanakaṭaka on the Kṛṣṇā. Thus the data supplied by the Tibetan sources are of doubtful value, and must be used with great caution. There are, however, occasional references of considerable value. Thus Tāraṇātha refers to the state of anarchy "in the five eastern provinces Bhangala, Odivisa and the rest, where every Kṣatriya Grandee, Brāhmaṇa and merchant was a king in his own house (in the neighbourhood) ; but there was no king ruling over the country." Epigraphical records in Bengal corroborate this state of things existing shortly before the accession of Gopāla. As Odivisa in this passage undoubtedly refers to Orissa, we have here a valuable information concerning its political history about the middle of the eighth century A.D.²²

22 For general reference, see R. D. Banerji, *History of Orissa* ; H. C. Ray, *Dynastic History of Northern India* ; H. K. Mahatab, *History of Orissa* ; *History of Bengal*, Vol. I, ed. R. C. Majumdar ; etc. For the *Mādala Pāñjī*, see *JBORS*, Vol. XIII, 1927, pp. 10 ff. ; *JIH*, Vol. XXXI, 1953, pp. 233 ff. ; etc.

METROLOGY OF THE INDO-GREEK SILVER COINS

A. N. LAHIRI

It is well known that the Greek kings of India did not generally use the Attic standard for their normal coinage though some of them, like their predecessors in Bactria (Northern Afghanistan), issued coins of four denominations, viz. tetradrachm, drachm, hemidrachm and obol of the theoretical weights of 270, 67.5, 33.75 and 11.25 grains respectively.¹ Of these, tetradrachms and drachms are very common, while the hemidrachm and obol are rare.²

Eucratides I Megas, Apollodotus I Soter and Demetrius III Anicetus were almost certainly amongst the first Indo-Greek kings to strike silver coins in India.³ But these kings, endowed as they were with a sound commercial instinct, attached due importance to the need of their Indian subjects, neighbours and allies. They realised at the very outset that the display on their coins of a legend written only in the Greek language, which was unintelligible to the Indians, would be useless. So the Greek legend, which hitherto adorned the reverse of the Bactrian coins, was transferred to the obverse and its Indian version (written in Prakrit and in the locally popular Kharoṣṭhī characters) was introduced on the reverse. Their next consideration was the weight standard of these bilingual silver coins. For, the Greek kings realised that the Attic weight system, which they had been using in Bactria, was not familiar to the Indians. Consequently, they introduced for their Indian subjects silver

1 For all practical purposes, coins of these denominations may be taken to weigh about 264, .66, 33 and 11 grains respectively (cf. A. N. Lahiri, *Corpus*, p. 14).

2 *Loc. cit.*

3 Cf. *Proc. Ind. Hist. Cong.*, 1966, pp. 143 ff.

coinage of a new standard which, they were sure, would be acceptable to them. The new standard, as a matter of fact, was at once popular and firmly established almost immediately.

As we have suggested elsewhere,⁴ Eucratides I was evidently the first king to issue bilingual silver coins and to use for them this new standard. His few known bilingual silver pieces are of one single denomination, weighing about 36 grains (2.27 grammes).⁵ That Eucratides' Indian silver issues, though outwardly endowed with Hellenistic features, were primarily meant for the Indians is apparent when we compare them with his Bactrian silver issues. The obverse bears the king's usual helmeted bust together with the normal Greek legend $BA\Xi I\wedge E\Omega\Xi\wedge ME\Gamma A\wedge OY$ $EYKPATI\Delta OY$ (which is now transferred to this side from the reverse), while the reverse shows the figure of the Dioscuroi as 'standing' instead of 'mounted on horseback' and the newly introduced literal Prakrit rendering of the obverse Greek legend, *Rajasa mahatakasa Evukratidasa*.⁶ The size of these coins is about '6 inch (15 mm) and their weight heavier than that of the Attic hemidrachm by at least 3 grains (0.19 grammes).⁷

From a comparative study of the weights of the Greek silver coins of Bactria and India, scholars gradually came to realise that the bilingual Indo-Greek silver issues follow a standard different from the Attic standard (as used for the Bactrian coins).⁸ This is all the more evident from

4 Lahiri, *op. cit.*, p. 39.

5 The Indian Museum specimen weighs 37 grains. See V. A. Smith, *Catalogue*, p. 13, No. 29.

6 Lahiri, *op. cit.*, p. 126, Type 14, Pl. XVII. 1.

7 The Indian Museum piece weighs 37 grains as against the theoretical weight of an Attic hemidrachm of 33.75 grains.

8 Cf. R. B. Whitehead in *Num. Chron.*, 1923, pp. 297-99.

the difference of weights of both the 'round' and 'square' Elephant-and-Bull silver pieces of Apollodotus I who, as it appears from his various issues, carried on a series of experiments for evolving a standard silver currency.⁹ While the average weight of the 'round' specimens adheres to that of the Attic hemidrachms, the weight of the 'square' pieces is conspicuously much higher reaching as much as 38 grains.¹⁰ Evidently the 'square' silver coins of Apollodotus follow the weight standard of the bilingual coins Eucratides I and, for that matter, all similar issues of succeeding kings of foreign extraction except, of course, the Kuṣāṇas who did not issue any silver currency.¹¹

Demetrius III Anicetos was perhaps the next (i.e. the third) king to adopt the new Indian standard for his silver coinage;¹² but he does not seem to have issued coins of the denomination used by Eucratides I and Apollodotus I. His unique bilingual silver coin having the weight of 145 grains (9.395 grammes) is of a denomination exactly four times higher than the one used by his two predecessors.

9 It appears that Apollodotus I Soter started his career with a copious issue of 'round' bilingual silver coins of the 33-grain standard (Lahiri, *op. cit.*, p. 92, Type 1), then struck a few experimental coins of the same standard, but of 'square' shape (*ibid.*, pp. 92-93, Type 2), and finally adopted the standard introduced by Eucratides I for his extensive 'square' silver coins (*ibid.*, pp. 93-94, Type 3). See also Allan in *Tavila*, Vol. II, p. 861.

10 The maximum weight of a round specimen is 31 grains (Whitehead, *Catalogue* [I], p. 49, No. 231), i.e. only about 2 grains less than the Attic hemidrachm. But as much as 38 grains is reached by the coin (Smith, *op. cit.*, p. 19, No. 16), i.e. 1 grain less than Eucratides' bilingual silver coin (*ibid.*, p. 13, No. 29).

11 The unique silver piece of Wema Kadphises (P. Gardner, *Catalogue*, Pl. XXV, 11) is apparently a 'pattern' specimen.

12 See *Num. Chron.*, 1923, p. 317, No. 2, for the coin of Demetrius III, and *Proc. Ind. Hist. Cong.*, 1966, pp. 143 and 145-147, for his chronological position.

Afterwards bilingual silver coins of these two denominations (of about 36 and 144 grains, or 2.33 and 9.33 grammes respectively) were widely and universally issued by all the other Indo-Greek, Indo-Scythian and Indo-Parthian kings.

Most numismatists of the nineteenth century, including A. Cunningham, and some of those who wrote in the early decades of the twentieth believed that the bilingual silver coins of the Indo-Greeks were also of the Attic standard and struck in the denominations of 'hemidrachm' and 'didrachm'. P. Gardner, on the other hand, thought that these bilingual silver issues followed the Persian standard.¹³ But Alfred von Sallet, the noted German numismatist of the last century, was the first to see in the Indo-Greek system, to quote Whitehead, "a reduced standard, by which he meant that 37 and 148 grain coins to be drachms and tetradrachms."¹⁴

However, Whitehead, who is perhaps the first numismatist of the twentieth century to discuss the weight standard of the Indo-Greek silver coinage, ultimately accepted the view of von Sallet and termed the coins of the two denominations—drachm and tetradrachm. He observed in this connexion that Cunningham's theory (that the Indo-Greek silver coins are but hemidrachm and didrachm of the Attic system) involved a complete break in the continuity between the Graeco-Bactrian and Indo-Greek coins, since coins of the denominations of tetradrachm (a popular one amongst the Greeks), with a hypothetical weight of 296 grains (19.18 grammes), do not exist. Whitehead also dismissed Gardner's view (that these coins are of a Persian Standard) as a 'mere conjecture', for a great numismatist and collector like Alexander Cunningham was

13 *Op. cit.*, p. lxvii.

14 *Num. Chron.*, 1923, p. 297.

not aware of such a standard with coin denominations of 37 and 148 grains (2.40 and 9.59 grammes).¹⁵

A matter of considerable interest is the fact that the two kings, viz. Eucratides I and Heliocles who ruled both in Bactria and in India, struck monolingual Attic silver coins in Bactria and bilingual silver coins in the 'new' standard in India.¹⁶ Seven more kings, viz. Menander I, Antialcidas, Lysias, Archebius, Hermaeus, Philoxenus and Theophilus, who apparently had nothing to do with Bactria, sparingly also struck monolingual Attic tetradrachms (evidently as 'Coronation medallions', as we have suggested elsewhere)¹⁷ along with their normal bilingual silver coins of the new Indian standard. This overlapping shows that the Indo-Greek silver currency did not follow the Graeco-Bactrian standard, but was apparently based on something Indian—just to suit the Indian condition. There were thus two distinct series of Greek silver coins—one of the Attic standard and the other of what we may conveniently call the 'Indian' standard.¹⁸

But, after a careful consideration of the matter, we are now convinced that the standard for the silver coins that Eucratides I introduced was neither 'hybrid' nor 'arbi-

15 *Ibid.*, pp. 297 ff.

16 For the coins of Eucratides I, see Lahiri, *op. cit.*, pp. 119 ff., Types 1-3, 5-6, 9-10 (monolingual silver coins) and p. 126, Type 14 (bilingual silver coins). For the coins of Heliocles, see also, *ibid.*, pp. 134-35, Types 1-2 (monolingual silver coins) and pp. 136-37, Types 5-8 (bilingual silver issues).

17 Cf. *Proc. Ind. Hist. Cong.*, 1967, pp. 59 ff., where it has been suggested that these seven Indo-Greek kings did not have their sway over Bactria or any part of it and that their rare Attic tetradrachms so far known are but 'coronation medallions'.

18 The term 'Indian' was possibly for the first time applied by us to the standard adopted for the Indo-Greek silver coins in *Corpus*, p. 16.

trary',¹⁹ for, in that case, it could not at once be so popular and at the same time almost immediately well-established.

It must have had its root in the Indian soil and must have been based on the Indian weight system. And the Indian system, as we know, has been traditionally based on the *raktikā* or *rati* seed, which is equivalent to 1.8 grains, according to A Cunningham.²⁰

Now, 36 grains, which the silver bilingual coins of Eucratides I weigh on an average, would be just 20 *ratis*. And the moment we get this equation we know that the Indo-Greek silver standard introduced by Eucratides I was based on the Indian weight system, of which a *rati* is the unit. Thus, specimens of the silver issues of Eucratides I and those of like weight struck by numerous foreign and indigenous kings who came after him were of the 20-*rati* standard, while the bilingual silver coins having four times of this weight that Demetrius III struck and were successively issued by almost all the Greek, Scythian and Parthian rulers after him were coins of the 80-*rati* standard.

But why is it that Eucratides I did not adopt the *kāryāpana* standard of 32 *ratis*? He was possibly thinking of a sort of 'decimal currency' consisting of a set of coins with a total weight equivalent to that of a supposed 'standard' full-coin of 100 *ratis*;²¹ but since a 10-*rati* unit, i. e. a coin of the

19 Whitehead called the Indo-Greek bilingual silver coins 'hybrid' and their standard 'arbitrary' (*Num. Chron.*, 1923, p. 298). But, as we shall show below, the standard is certainly not 'arbitrary', even though coins representing it may be called 'hybrid' in a technical sense.

20 *Coins of Ancient India*, p. 44. H. Nelson Wright and H. R. Neville have shown that, even during the rule of the early Sultans of Delhi, the *rati* weighed 1.8 grains. Cf. E. H. C. Walsh, *Punch-marked Coins from Taxila*, 1939, p. 17.

21 It is curious that the 'archaic' silver pieces known as 'bent-bar coins' are of the 100-*rati* standard (see Walsh, *op. cit.*, pp. 2-3). V. A. Smith, who was possibly the first to notice them, believed that they were 100-*rati* specimens (*op. cit.*, p. 134).

denomination of one-tenth of the theoretical 'full'-piece, would be too tiny for regular use, Eucratides thought it fit to issue a standard silver coin of 20 *ratis*, five of which would be equivalent in weight and value to the supposed 100-*rati* coin. And such a 20-*rati* coin, about two-thirds the weight of an indigenous *kārṣāpana*, when struck on a reasonably broad flan, would compare well in size with the latter.

The paucity of the silver bilingual coins of Eucratides I indicates that he did not strike coins of the 20-*rati* standard in a large quantity. Either he was somehow not in a position to issue in India an extensive silver currency or struck them only on an 'experimental basis'.²² But Apollodotus I who was his near contemporary²³ realised the great merit of the new standard, and very soon adopted it for his extensive silver currency. But neither Eucratides nor Apollodotus seems to have struck coins of any higher denomination in the new standard, while an ephemeral ruler, Demetrius III Anicetos, was possibly the first to issue silver pieces four times heavier than those struck by Eucratides I and Apollodotus I. And it is interesting that the combined weight of one specimen each of the two denominations would be exactly 100 *ratis*. Thus, the sort of 'decimal' currency that Eucratides I originally envisaged when he struck his 20-*rati* silver bilingual coin ultimately came into being with the issue of the 80-*rati* piece by Demetrius III. Cf. the Indian 80-*rati* gold *suvarṇa* and copper *pāṇa* standards.

In terms of the 'two main standard units' of the Attic currency system, viz. drachm and tetradrachm, we may reasonably call the 20-*rati* coins of Eucratides I and the

22 The fact that known specimens of Eucratides' silver coins number only about half a dozen indicates that they were not issued in abundance (see Lahiri, *op. cit.*, p. 126, Type 14).

23 E. J. Rapson, *Camb. Hist. Ind.*, Vol. I, p. 548.

80-*rati* pieces of Demetrius III 'Indian drachms' and 'Indian tetradrachms' respectively. As in the Attic system, so also in the Indian system, coins of these two denominations—drachm and tetradrachm—were conspicuously predominating; but those of any lower denomination were 'few and far between'. Thus, while 'Indian' drachms and tetradrachms are known of almost all the Indo-Greek kings, 'Indian' hemidrachms are represented by the unique specimens of Apollodotus I and Hermaeus.²⁴

That the 20-*rati* or 36-grain coins were meant to be drachms (of the new reduced Indian standard) and were 'so called' seems to be indicated by the interesting statement of the *Periplus of the Erythraen Sea*, probably composed in the eighties of the first century A.D.²⁵ After speaking of the country inland of Barygaza (modern Broach) inhabited by tribes like the Arattii, Arachosii, etc., the *Periplus* says, "And Alexander, setting out from these parts, penetrated to the Ganges, leaving aside Damirica and the southern part of India; and to the present day ancient drachmae are current in Barygaza coming from this country, bearing inscriptions in Greek letters, and the devices of those who reigned after Alexander—Apollodotus and Menander."²⁶

Now, the ancient drachms bearing Greek legends and devices of Apollodotus and Menander could not have been the monolingual silver coins of the Attic standard, since such coins are conspicuously unknown and were apparently not struck in India, where kings bearing the said two names ruled. They must therefore be the smaller bilingual silver coins; evidently of the 'Indian' standard and weighing 20-*ratis*.

24 Gardner, *op. cit.*, p. 34, No. 12 (Apollodotus I) and *Num. Chron.*, 1955, Proceedings, p. xiv (Hermaeus).

25 Cf. D. C. Sircar, *Stud. Ind. Coins*, pp. 119 ff

26 W. H. Schoff, *The Periplus of the Erythraen Sea*, 1912, pp. 41-42.

or about 36 grains. And such coins were obviously known as drachm, for, had they been current as 'hemidrachm' of the Attic standard, as was earlier supposed by older numismatists and is still supposed by some modern scholars,²⁷ the *Periplus* would possibly call them hemidrachm, and not drachm.

Now, it would be interesting to see how widespread was the use of the Indo-Greek silver standard, and which of the foreign and indigenous rulers adopted it, and how long and upto which period it was in use.

Of the foreign rulers, the Indo-Scythians who were the immediate successors of the Indo-Greeks, used the Indo-Greek silver standard extensively. Not only the princes of the Maues group who ruled in North-Western India, but also Vonones and his lieutenants and successors ruling in the Arachosia region²⁸ struck Greek-type bilingual silver coins of the weights of 20 and 80 *ratis*. The Indo-Parthians too issued Greek-type Indian drachms and tetradrachms, though in badly debased silver and not so uniform weights. Similar 20- and 80-*rati* silver coins are respectively known of Rañjuvula and Zeionises, two Scythian Satraps of Northern India.²⁹ Sapedana and Satavastra, two other obscure Scytho-Parthian princes who probably ruled in the Kandahar region, also issued some Greek-type bilingual Indian drachms.³⁰

Then, of the Scythian Satraps of Western India, Nahapāna who belonged to the Kṣaharāta family issued

27 Cf. A. K. Narain. *The Indo-Greeks*, p. 65; also *JNSI*, Vol. XIX, p. 131.

28 See R. B. Whitehead, *Catalogue* (I), pp. 98-142, for coins of the Maues group of rulers, and pp. 142-144, for those of the Vonones group.

29 J. Allan, *Catalogue* (Anc. Ind.), pp. 185, Nos. 98-108 (Indian drachms of Rañjuvula) and Whitehead, *op. cit.*, p. 157. No. 82 (Indian tetradrachm of Zeionises)

30 J. Marshall, *Taxila*, Vol. II.

an extensive silver coinage of the 20-*rati* standard,³¹ but of a new 'fabric and style', which became characteristic of the numismatic issues of the successive Scythian Satraps of Western India. These coins bear, on the obverse, the head of the issuer and a date and on the reverse some devices, characteristic of the issuer or his family.

The Kārdamaka-Śakas of the house of Caṣṭana struck an abundant silver coinage in the denominations of the Indian drachm, on the model of the issues of Nahapāna, for a few centuries³² and their coins became the prototypes of all subsequent silver issues of the 20-*rati* standard. However, the only other foreigner to adopt the standard for his silver coinage was Toramāṇa who, however, struck his Indian drachms in close imitation of the Gupta silver issues.³³

Indian rulers of the northern, western and central regions of India, on the other hand, issued the 20-*rati* silver coins for over a thousand years. But, while the original Indo-Greek issues were the models for the coins only of the early Punjab tribes, the Western Satrapal coins were the prototype for the indigenous Indian drachms of other regions.

Quite a few tribes of the Punjab region, viz. the Audumbaras, Kupindas, Vemakis, Viṣṇis and Yaudheyas, issued Indian drachms in the Indo-Greek style.³⁴ The unique 'silver' coin weighing 75.7 grains and bearing the name of the Kulūta chief Viṣayaśas possibly represents an Indian 'didrachm' of 40 *ratis*.³⁵ Though manifestly of the

31 Rapson, *Catalogue*, pp. 65 f., Nos. 243-251.

32 *Ibid.*, pp. 72 ff.

33 Rapson, *Indian Coins*, Pl. IV. 16.

34 J. Allan, *Catalogue* (Anc. Ind.), p. 124, No. 21 (Audumbara Dharaghosa); p. 159, No. 1 (Kuṇḍa Amoghabhūti); p. 125, No. 23 (Vemaki Rudravarman); p. 281, No. 17 (Viṣṇi Jñāgana); and p. 270, No. 47 (Brahmanya, Yaudheya).

35 *Ibid.*, p. 158, No. 1. Since Allan calls it 'a didrachm of the later Greek and Parthian kings of India' and gives its weight as 75.7 grains, the coin appears to be of silver, and not of copper. See *ibid.*, p. c.

Indo-Greek style and fabric, all these tribal issues are thoroughly 'Indian' in their devices.

At least two Śātavāhana monarchs, Vāsiṣṭhiputra Śātakarṇi and Gautamiputra Yajña-Śātakarṇi, struck some 20-*rati* silver coins in imitation of the Western Satraps' issues.³⁶ Posing as *Mahāsatrapa*, one Īśvaradatta, probably an Ābhīra interloper with his temporary sway over the Kathiawad region, issued sometime in the third century some Indian drachms in the Western Satrapal model.³⁷ The Traikūṭaka chiefs Dahrasena and his son Vyāghrasena ruling in the fifth century in Southern Gujarat and the Konkan as well as 'the Marhatta country on the other side of the Ghāts' also struck similar coins.³⁸ But these and all subsequent issues of the 20-*rati* Indian drachms, though they betray strong Western Satrapal influence, depict reverse devices in accordance with the convention followed by their respective issuers.

Candragupta II, Kumāragupta I and Skandagupta of the Imperial Gupta line of Magadha issued abundant Garuda-type Indian drachms³⁹ for the western territories which the first monarch wrested from the Śaka Satraps. Kumāragupta I introduced a peacock-type 20-*rati* coinage⁴⁰

36 See for the coins, D. C. Sircar in *Epigraphia Indica*, XXXV, pp. 247 ff. (Vāsiṣṭhiputra Śātakarṇi) and Rapson, *Catalogue*, pp. 124 f. (Gautamiputra Yajña-Śātakarṇi).

37 See Rapson, *op. cit.*, pp 124 f., for the coins and pp. clxii f. for other details.

38 See *ibid.*, pp. 198-201 (Dahrasena) and pp. 202 f. (Vyāghrasena), and pp. clx ff. for other details.

39 For the Garuda-type coins, see Allan, *Catalogue* (Gupta), pp. 49-51 (Candragupta II), pp. 89-107 (Kumāragupta I), and pp. 119-121 (Skandagupta). Skandagupta also struck some Bull-and-Altar type coins (*ibid.*, pp. 121-129).

40 For the Peacock-type coins, see *ibid.*, pp. 107-110 (Kumāragupta I), pp. 129-133 (Skandagupta) and p. 153 (Budhagupta).

for Central India, which both Skandagupta and Budhagupta continued to issue.

Sporadic issues of the 20-*rati* silver coins of the Gupta fabric are known in later times not only from Western, but also from Central and Northern India. A series of degraded silver coins, closely imitated from the Gupta specimens and bearing fragmentary legends, is attributed to the Valabhi rulers of about the sixth century.⁴¹ Kṛṣṇarāja, the Early Kalacuri king who ruled Northern Maharashtra and the adjoining regions in the same century, struck similar coins which come from Nasik and the islands of Bombay and Salsette.⁴² We have some Gupta-fabric 20-*rati* silver pieces of one Bhīmasena who may probably be identified with the second South Kosāla king of that name who reigned in the very beginning of the seventh century A.D. in the Raipur-Bilaspur-Sambalpur region of Madhya Pradesh and Orissa.⁴³ The remarkable Bhitura hoard of 1904 revealed as many as 522 Indian drachms of the Maukhari chiefs Isānavarman, Sarvavarman and Avantivarman, who ruled in Bihar and Uttar Pradesh in the sixth century, and of one Pratāpaśīla and another Śilāditya,⁴⁴ whom R. Burn sought to identify respectively with the Puṣyabhūti kings Prabhākaravardhana and Harṣavardhana of Thanesar.⁴⁵

The rare series of the Bull-and-Horseman coins bearing the legend *Śrī-Śāmantadeva* and weighing slightly more than

41 Rapson, *Indian Coins*, Pl. IV. 12.

42 See *ibid.*, Pl. IV. 17, for the type of Kṛṣṇarāja's coins, and *The Classical Age*, ed. R. C. Majumdar, p. 195 for other details.

43 Rapson, *op. cit.*, Pl. IV. 14. See also *The Classical Age*, pp. 217-18 for other details.

44 Cf. C. J. Brown, *Catalogue* (Gupta-Maukhari), 1920, Introduction, pp. v-vi, and for details see p. 39 (Isānavarman and Sarvavarman), p. 40 (Avantivarman), p. 41 (Pratāpaśīla), and pp. 41-44 (Śilāditya).

45 *JRAS*, 1906, pp. 843 ff.

33 grains may be considered in this connexion.⁴⁶ Though they have the weight of the Attic hemidrachm, the coins evidently had nothing to do with the Attic weight system, since other series of similar Bull-and-Horseman silver coins with the same or different legends weigh only 50 grains and apparently represent an 'Indian' weight standard, which may well be a 'slightly reduced' *kāryāpāna* standard.⁴⁷ It is quite likely that there was an unsuccessful attempt at reviving the 20-*rati* standard and the rare specimens of the smaller series of the Bull-and-Horseman coins are but issues of that standard.

We would conclude our survey with the unique coin of 36.3 grains which bear the name of the Kerala chief Virakerala who probably flourished in the eleventh or twelfth century.⁴⁸ Though it is of the broad South Indian fabric, this unique piece is the latest and the southernmost known issue of the 20-*rati* Indian drachm which the Greek conqueror Eucratides I Megas introduced some thirteen or fourteen centuries ago.⁴⁹

46 See Cunningham, *Coins of Medieval India*, p. 64, No. 11—"Coin of small size; rare. Only six specimens, average 33.3 grains." Cunningham also stresses the fact that "These coins are smaller and their types are also smaller than No. 10 (i.e. the Bull-and-Horseman coin referred to in the next note)."

47 See *ibid.*, No. 10—"Author, very common. Six good coins, average 50 grains." Since the weight of these coins is much less than other medieval Indian silver coins deriving their Attic weight-standard through Parthian and Sassanian issues, the heavier Bull-and-Horseman coins apparently represent the *kāryāpāna* standard; but due to obvious reasons their weight does not reach the theoretical maximum.

48 Rapson, *Indian Coins*, Pl. V. 11. Cf. this coin with that of Uttamacola (*ibid.*, Pl. V. 13) which evidently conforms to the weight of the Attic drachm and is of a broad fabric like other medieval Indian issues of the same standard.

49 See *Monthly Bulletin of the Asiatic Society*, Vol. II, No. 8 (August, 1967), pp. 6-7.

NOTES

QUERIES

SADHU RAM

1. *Misinterpretation of the Allahabad Pillar Inscription.*

S. V. Sohoni in his note appearing in *JBRs*, Vol. LI, pp. 29-47, accepted B. Ch. Chhabra's emendation of *āryyo h=īti* to *ehy=eh=īti* in verse 4 of Samudragupta's Allahabad pillar inscription.¹ In the 2nd edition of his *Select Inscriptions* (p. 263), D.C. Sircar has also accepted the said reading. Although Sohoni has quoted Bāṇa in support of the interpretation of the emendation as 'a decorous (*sa-bahumānam*) way of summoning before a royal assembly', the new reading does not seem to be justified, nor does it appeal to us. In the first place, there is no trace of the initial *e*, which has to be conjectured like the initial *ā* of *āryyo* in the break, while the next letter looks more like a conjunct *yyo* than *hye*. Secondly, the use of the word *āryya* is in keeping with the context and seems to have been used by the poet purposely to emphasise the character of Samudragupta and serve as a reminder of his just and efficient administration as the governor of a province in the capacity of a prince. This would be the greater reason for his father to embrace him with emotion and fix his choice on him.

About the size of the assembly, Sohoni remarks that it could be consisting of 3 or 7 or 9 members, and that it was a high-powered body; its ceremony, according to him, 'began with the members of the Council being honoured with gifts.

1 *Ind. Cult.*, Vol. XIV, pp. 141-50; cf. *Nāgarī Pracāriṇī Patrikā*, Vol. LIV, pp. 1-12.

That was the first item of the programme.' This he asserts with confidence as if he had witnessed the ceremony with his own eyes. However, the word *ucchvasita* taken by him to mean 'honoured with gifts' on the authority of the *Viramitrodaya* which interprets the word *śvāsita* as *dakṣiṇābhīḥ pūjita*, is not causative in form like the latter. Moreover, this suggestion of offering gifts would imply the bribing of the councillors to win their approval. Otherwise, there was no occasion for offering gifts to them.

Next, Sohoni regards *sva-bhuja-bala* in the expression *sva-bhuja-bala-parākkram-aika-bandhōḥ* (*aika* misprinted as *anka*) to be a technical term meaning 'employment of that part of the military forces which was moved in the vanguard of any campaign'. In order to give this sense, the arrangement of the words in the *samāsa* should, however, have been *sva-bala-bhuja*. Secondly, Sohoni's interpretation implies that Samudragupta solely depended (*eka-bandhu*) on the vanguard of his forces for his victories and not on the strength of his own arms. It not only detracts from, but is hardly a compliment to, Samudragupta's personal valour. Sohoni takes *parākramāṅka* also to be a technical term meaning 'aggression against enemies who did not submit to him'. He quotes no authority for this interpretation. On the other hand, the word *parākrama* occurs on the coins of Samudragupta who is described in the coin-legend as *asvamedha-parākrama*. Chhabra has convincingly shown the Vaiṣṇava predilections of the Gupta emperors and has referred to *satya-parākrama* and *satya-dharma-parākrama* and several other epithets of Viṣṇu in verses 23, 31, etc., of the *Viṣṇusahasranāma*, which are used in one form or other as the epithets of the Gupta emperors in order to identify them with the god himself. This fact is also evident from this *prāśasti* from the passage *lokasamaya-kkriyānividhāna-māṭra-mānuṣasya loka-dhāmno devasya* (line 23). Unfortunately, Sohoni has spoilt the poetic beauty and sense

of the passage by splitting it into three independent expressions. In the first long compound, he gives a laboured interpretation of the word *samaya* as *bahubhiḥ sādhubhir* = *mahā-jana-rakṣaṇ-ārthaṁ kṛtā samvit* (according to Viṣṇu) and *pāri-bhāṣika-dharmena vyavasthānam* (according to Nārada). *Mānuṣa*, i. e. 'having men', he thinks is used in the restricted sense, not of a human being, but of 'the principal person.' Thus, he understands from the expression, "The principal persons in his empire strictly conformed to their own respective jurisdictions and carried out their functions and duties meticulously, i. e. without encroaching upon other people's rights, functions and duties." One wonders how such an elaborate idea can be drawn from the simple expression, and what interpretation of *samaya* Sohoni has followed. Again, *loka-dhāmnah* he takes to mean 'whose lustre has pervaded the world'. From where does he get the sense of 'pervaded' is beyond our comprehension. *Deva* he takes to be 'a usual royal title.' It may be seen that there is hardly any sense in putting this title here in the context. If at all it was needed, it should have preceded the name of Samudragupta. But in the *prāstati*, we have already an imperial title *Mahārājā-dhīrāja* prefixed to the king's name. Hence Sohoni's interpretation of the whole passage is far-fetched; laboured and erroneous. The passage is, in fact, intended to convey the idea of divinity of the king who was considered human only inasmuch as he 'followed the conventional ways of the world'. The epithet *a-cintya* (line 25) also points to the same idea of his being identical with Viṣṇu who bears the same epithet.

The passage *sucarita-śat-ālāṅkṛt-āneka-guṇa-gaṇ-otsiktiḥ* = *caran-tala-pramṛṣṭ-ānya-na-apati-kīrtiḥ* is also grossly misinterpreted by Sohoni. *Sucarita* he takes in the sense of *sūkṣma-dharm-ārtha-niyata-loka-saṅgraha*, following the sense of the term in the *Mahābhārata*. Then he says that Samudragupta

wiped out the white *kirtti* of the other kings by an overflow of his own white *kirtti*. But in the passage, the wiping out is done by the soles of the Gupta emperor's feet by dint of the overflow of his *guna-gaṇa*, and not by his white *kirtti*. Further, Sohoni observes that the association of *kirtti* with the soles of the royal feet suggests that wherever he went, i.e., over the territory of his rival kings, there was left behind a record of his fame. But, in the first place, Samudragupta's *kirtti* is not associated with the soles of his feet ; secondly, Sohoni has interpreted the idiom *caranā-tala-pramṛṣṭa* too literally. If we were to follow his line of interpretation, then we should translate *kṣitipa-caranā-pīṭhe sthāpito vāma-pādāḥ* (in the Bhitari pillar inscription of Skandagupta) as 'he actually put his left foot on the stool formed by the heads of [subjugated] kings.' How absurd it would be ! Again, Sohoni's imagination seems to have run too far in attributing 'a riot of colours' to the expression *sucarita-śat-ālaṅkṛta* in interpreting it to suggest that Samudragupta's fame spread variegated colours (*śat-ālaṅkṛta*) like the rays of a hundred jewelled ornaments.

In the interpretation of the expression *sādhv-asādh-ūdaya pralaya-hetu-puruṣasya* (line 25) as 'whose administrative personnel could discriminate that which was good from that which was evil and were able to promote a plan (*ūdaya*) or to oppose (*pralaya*) it', Sohoni has again missed the sense of divinity attributed to Samudragupta in a language, as pointed out by D. C. Sircar,² similar to that of the *Bhagavadgītā* (IV. 8). *Aneka-go-śata-sahasra*, which the emperor is said to have donated to the Brāhmaṇas, Sohoni takes to be the 'legitimate booty in war,' which, in fact, would do little credit to the emperor. The expression is not intended to refer to a single donation at the end of a

2 *Bhār. Vid.*, Vol. VIII, Nos. 9-10, 1946, pp. 109 ff.

war in celebration of a victory, but is only an exaggerated way of saying that Samudragupta had been regularly donating milch cows to the Brāhmaṇas on auspicious occasions.

Lastly, Sohoni's interpretation of *sva-bhuja-bala-vijit-āneka-narapati-vibhava-pratyarpanā-nitya-vyāpṛt-āyukta-puruṣasya*, too, is preposterous. He takes *nitya*, *vyāpṛta* and *āyukta* to be technical terms denoting three kinds of officials. The *Nityas*, according to him, were *mahatsu kāryesu svātmani rakṣitavyā dharma-nityāḥ*, the *Vyāpṛtas* 'military officers', and the *Āyuktas* 'civil officers.' The whole expression, he says, implies that 'while restoring the material prosperity which were escorted by the *Vyāpṛtas*, the rival claims were adjudicated by the *Nityas*.' For the technical sense of *Vyāpṛta*, he refers to the Pāla 'period'³ which is very late. He could not quote any early reference for it except the occurrence of the word in the expression *anvaya-prāpti-sācivyo vyāpṛta-sandhi-vigrahāḥ* in an Udayagiri cave inscription⁴ of Chandragupta II, in which it has no technical sense. Moreover, Ghoshal and Dandekar, who have discussed Gupta administration thoroughly, have nowhere referred to any such officer. Again, *vibhava*, which here means 'lost sovereignty' and not 'material prosperity', was to be restored to the conquered kings and to none else. So, the question of adjudication of rival claims does not arise. Then, according to Sohoni, the restoration was carried out in a successive order by the *Vyāpṛtas*, *Nityas* and *Āyuktas* by escorting, adjudication and allotting ; but the real order in the passage is *nitya-vyāpṛt-āyukta*.

Does not therefore Sohoni's note involve hair-splitting and distort the real sense and mar the poetic beauty of the composition ?

3 *History of Bengal*, Vol. I, ed. Majumdar, p 277. [Cf. Sircar, *Ind Ep Gloss.*, s.v.—Ed.]

4 *CII*, Vol. III, p 35.

2. *Sādī at Somanātha*

I was expecting that Buddha Prakash's note on the above topic appearing in the *Gopinātha Kaviraja Abhinandana Grantha*, 1967, pp. 378 ff., would contain the famous Persian poet's description of that magnificent and sacred monument in the charming manner of a poet, but was quite disappointed because it seems to be an account fabricated by a fanatic.

Buddha Prakash says that Sādī's visit to Somanātha deserves to be believed, because he claims to have stopped there on his way from Shiraz to Mecca. Even if, however, the statement be accepted at its face value, how could a Muhammadan get access into the precincts of the temple? In course of my discussion with Buddha Prakash on this point, he told me that Sādī might not have revealed his identity as a Muslim. But a traveller from distant Persia would have been recognised from his features, dress, make-up and language. Another point that goes against Sādī's statement is that there is no evidence whatever of an ivory image having ever been installed in that temple. It was, and still is, a Śaiva temple in which the Śivalinga was established for worship. Even Buddha Prakash admits that "the fact is not corroborated by older tradition" and cites in support the evidences of H. C. Ray, Gardizi and Alaf Khān. Moreover, an image of bone is never installed in Hindu temples for worship.

Sādī is said to have talked to the priest who told him about the miracle of the image raising its hand. But in what language could the poet converse with the priest? His Persian would at once have exposed him, and he would have been turned out. Now, the mechanical device for raising the hand of the image which Sādī claims to have detected, goes against the presence of the image in the sanctum, because a disjointed (*khaṇḍita*) image is never put up for worship. To these objections, Buddha Prakash told

me that the image with the mechanical device could have been placed in the compound in order to attract people for worship. But Sā'dī clearly says, "Kings of China and Chighil.... Men of eloquence from every place, were beseeching in front of that dumb idol's face," and later on says about it as "the image of bone—In a chair made of gold, on a teak timber throne..." Of course, there is no record of any Chinese emperor or Chighil king as having paid a visit to Somanātha or even to India. Nobody, moreover, would place a golden chair and a throne for an image meant to be kept in the compound of the temple for attracting people.

Again the poet's statement, "kiss to the hand of the idol I gave," seems to be preposterous; for, nobody, not even a Brāhmaṇa priest, is allowed to defile the deity's hand with a kiss. On top of it, Sā'dī says, "I fastened the door of the temple one night," as if he were allowed to stay in the temple at night on many occasions, and this is obviously absurd. Which door could he have fastened? For, the door of the sanctum is always closed by the priest himself. Then how could Sā'dī run 'to the left and the right' and why should "a fire-temple (it was not a fire-temple) prelate" sit at night in the rear of the screen (embroidered with gold) "with the end of a rope in hand," when his duty was to move the hand of the image in the morning? Again, how could the priest flee on seeing the poet and the latter chase him when he himself had fastened the door of the temple?

Does not the account of Sā'dī seem to have been fabricated by him merely for the sake of slandering the belief of the Kafirs?

PHYSICAL FEATURES OF ORISSA¹

R. C. MAJUMDAR

The modern geographical name 'Orissa' is supposed to be derived from *Odra*, and it is also regarded as identical with *Utkala*. The boundaries of both *Odra* and *Utkala* are given differently in different texts, and none of them comprised the whole of the present State of Orissa. There was thus no definite connotation of the terms in ancient times. In recent times also the boundaries of Orissa have been extended by the addition of Sambalpur and a part of the Ganjam District. In view of these periodical changes, perhaps the safest course would be to take Orissa as denoting all the territories where Oriya is the spoken language of the majority of the people. Orissa, thus defined, comprises three distinct types of regions. The first is a narrow marshy woodland tract which extends along the sea coast from the south of the *Suvarnarekhā*, and varies in breadth from five to twenty miles. It resembles the Sunderbans in South Bengal, and is covered by swamps and marshes, innumerable winding streams, and dense jungles, but lacks the majestic forest which imparts a distinctive grandeur to the latter. The area is intersected by a number of *nullahs* and is full of morasses and quick-sands highly dangerous to the travellers. Coarse reedy grass and brushwood, which cover the surface, supply valuable fuel to the manufacturers of salt. But it is interspersed by extensive thickets of thorny bamboos which render travelling by land almost impracticable. Besides, the jungles abound with leopards, tigers and wild buffaloes, and the rivers at the flowing of the tide are full of voracious

1 This account is mainly based on the *Imperial Gazetteer* and A. Stirling, *An Account of Orissa Proper or Cuttack*, 1882.

alligators. The climate is also not salubrious and it is generally believed to be responsible for elephantiasis and a peculiar form of dysentery.

There are, however, some redeeming features of this wild inhospitable tract. Here is manufactured, by the simple process of boiling, a fine quality of salt distinguished for its whiteness and purity. And the sea, all along the coast, supplies an abundance of fine fish.

To the west of this narrow belt lies a parallel stretch of narrow alluvial plain, an open country varying in breadth from ten to fifty miles. Throughout the known period of history it has formed the most important and populated part of Orissa. It is highly cultivated and produces most of the grains and vegetables commonly found in Bengal. But the soil is comparatively speaking much poorer; it is generally light and sandy to the south of the Mahānādī and interspersed with large plains wholly unfit for cultivation.

Lying along it to the west is a broken rugged country with a succession of hill ranges with wild crags and peaks of great beauty. One can easily distinguish three watersheds, with five valleys in between, down which flow the three great rivers, the Mahānādī, the Brāhmaṇī and the Baitaraṇī. The hill ranges to the north of the Mahānādī rise to a height of 2500 feet running north-west and south-east, and forming the southernmost watershed. To the north of the Brāhmaṇī also magnificent ranges, running in the same general direction, though more confused and wilder, rise into the Keonjhar watershed with peaks 2500 to 3500 feet above the sea level. From the eastern bank of the Baitaraṇī, running in the third valley, rise grand masses of rock three to four thousand feet high, sending innumerable tributary streams to that river on the one side and the Subarṇarekhā on the other. The water from these hills also pour down the Burhabalang.

The hill ranges are mostly covered with dense forest up to

the top, though there are regular passes which can be traversed by men and beasts. The valleys lying between these ranges are, however, very fertile and yield rich crops without much labour. But the land fit for cultivation bears a very small proportion to the vast extent of rocks, hills and forests.

The woods skirting the western frontier of the alluvial plain as well as the interior forests are full of wild animals such as tigers, leopards, panthers, hyenas, bears, etc.

The characteristic differences in the physical features of the country, noted above, have influenced the history and culture of the country to a very large extent. Politically, the hilly region of the west has maintained a separate entity throughout the ages. But, though it led an isolated life aloof from the plains, this area could not achieve any political unity. For the hills, forests, rivers and valleys facilitated the growth of separate States, each with an individuality of its own. The difficulties of communication, which favoured the growth of small States, also helped them to maintain their independence as against their powerful neighbours, both from the plains below as well as from the adjacent regions in the hills. The long continued existence of this state of things created a separatist tendency which stood in the way of a united Orissa. The hilly region has remained more or less unaffected by the political history of the plains below, and formed the seats of a number of independent kingdoms. More powerful States no doubt made attempts, from time to time, to conquer them but without success, except perhaps for short periods. Until the achievement of Indian independence in 1947, this small region comprised a large number of tributary States known as Tributary *Mahāls* or *Garjāts*, and references in old inscriptions of the pre-Muslim period leave no doubt that the political condition did not change much since the earliest times.

But the same natural features have ensured political stability and permanence in this region, which are scarcely met with anywhere else in India. Some of the ruling dynasties in this hilly area have maintained an uninterrupted sway for many centuries. There are good grounds to believe that the ruling dynasty of Mayurbhanj (now integrated with Orissa) dates back to the eighth century A. D.—a phenomenon very rare in history. Only a few Rajput ruling families in India, like the Guhilots of Mewar, can claim such antiquity. There is hardly any doubt that this was largely due to the natural barriers, like the desert in one case and the hills and jungles in the other. Of course other influences and chance elements were also at work, for States similarly or even better protected by nature have succumbed to foreign invasions. But it is difficult to believe that a Bhañja dynasty, ruling in the plains of Orissa, could, under any circumstances, have maintained its separate existence as a State for more than a thousand years down to the middle of the present century.

The alluvial plain that stretches between the hilly region on the west and the marshy jungles along the sea coast on the east have formed a stable political unit and the home of a settled population. But the poor resources of the country have never enabled them to become very rich or prosperous. Although bordering on the sea, the inhabitants of Orissa proper have never been a sea-faring people like their immediate neighbours on the north or on the south, because the inhospitable tract of marshy jungles stood between them and the sea, and there was no natural harbour like Dantapura (Paloura in Ganjam) in the south, and Tamralipti (Tamluk in Bengal) in the north. These two famous harbours, situated immediately to the north and south of Orissa, perhaps stood in the way of developing a trade centre in Orissa. Nevertheless, the long sea coast must have led to some kind of trade and maritime activity

among the people, for which evidence is not altogether lacking. While the hilly region on the west practically closed a large part of their own country to the people of the Orissan plains, it did not prove an insuperable barrier against invasion from that side. But the absence of any such natural barrier either in the north or in the south made them vulnerable targets for attacks from these two regions. Of course, it also enabled powerful kings of Orissa to extend their power in both these directions. But, when there was no such powerful ruler, it suffered from frequent invasions from the north and the south, and sometimes even became the battle ground of powerful rulers of these two regions. History affords specific examples of all these activities, and reference may be made to Khāravela, to the Ganga and Somavāṁśi kings, to Rāmapāla and to many others.

The differences in the physical feature also profoundly affected the development of culture in Orissa. The plains below, being easy of access, both from the Aryan north and the Dravidian south, imbibed the culture from both these sources. Thus the arts, language, literature and religion of Orissa are thoroughly imbued with the influences of the North, while its script retains traces of influences from the south. But whatever the sources, the Orissan plains imbibed Indian culture in all its aspects at a very early period, and followed the general current at all stages of its development. The people in the hills, and to some extent also of the jungles on the sea shore, differ considerably from those of the plains dividing them, in respect of manners, customs and morals. A foreign writer has observed that "they are more shy, sullen, inhospitable and uncivilised than the latter. Their chiefs, the Khandāits or ancient Zamindars of Orissa, who claim to represent the regal and military class are grossly stupid, barbarous, debauched, tyrannical and slaves of the most grovelling superstition.... The Pāiks

or landed militia of the Rājwara combine with the most profound barbarism and the blindest devotion to the will of their chiefs, a ferocity and unquietness of disposition.”²

The hilly region even now contains elements of aboriginal tribes, like the Kols, “which are quite distinct in language, features, manners and religion from the Hindus of the, plains,” and it has been suggested, on plausible grounds, that they are the remnants of the original inhabitants of the country prior to the immigration of the Aryans. In any case, there is no doubt that, like the Kols, Bhils, and Mundās in other parts of India, some aboriginal tribes found shelter and refuge in the fastnesses of this hilly region and, though conquered by the Aryans and touched by a veneer of Indian culture, they have retained some of their original peculiarities and given a new character to the culture which forms a type clearly distinct from the plains below.

2 Stirling, *op. cit.*, p. 25.

HARAPPAN CHRONOLOGY

DILIP K. CHAKRABARTI

The archaeological chronology for Mohenjodaro has been 3250-2750 B.C.,¹ 2800-2500 B.C.² and, for the Harappan Civilization as a whole, 2500-1500 B.C.³ Of these three date-schemes proposed, the first two were based on a rather arbitrary estimate of the duration of the Mohenjodaro civilization, an inflated Mesopotamian chronology of the thirties and an explicit belief in the pre-Sargonic contact of the Indus valley and may now be regarded as of mere academic significance. The upper limit of the last one cast doubts on the possibility of a pre-Sargonic contact while its end-part was based on two assumptions : the destruction of the Harappan Civilization by the Aryans and the conventional date of 1500 B.C. as that of the Aryan migration to India. The first of these assumptions at least has been seriously questioned.⁴

The gradually accumulating C-14 evidence seems to call for a yet narrower time-bracket. Agarwal's⁵ interpretation

1 J. Marshall, *Mohenjodaro and the Indus Civilization*, Vol. I, 1931, p. 104.

2 E. Mackay, *Further Excavations at Mohenjodaro*, Vol. I, 1938, p. 7.

3 R. E. M. Wheeler, 'Harappa 1946 : the Defences and Cemetery R 37' in *Ancient India*, No. 3, 1947, p. 32.

4 B. B. Lal, 'Protohistoric Investigations' in *Ancient India*, No. 9, 1953, p. 88; G. F. Dales, 'The Mythical Massacre at Mohenjodaro' in *Expedition*, Vol. 6, No. 3, 1964, pp. 36-43; A. Ghosh, 'The Archaeological Background' in *Memoir of the Anthropological Survey of India*, No. 9, 1962, p. 1, note.

5 D. P. Agarwal 'Harappan Culture : New Evidence for a Shorter Chronology' in *Science*, Vol. 143, No. 3609, 1964, pp. 910-52; 'Harappan Chronology : a Re-examination of the Evidence' in *Studies in Prehistory*, Robert Bruce Foote Memorial Volume, edited by D. Sen and A. K. Ghosh, 1966, p. 145.

of the series of dates from Kalibangan, Lothal, Rojdi, the late level of Mohenjodaro supplemented by those from Damb Sadaat, Niai Buthi and Kot Diji puts the Harappan date-range between 2300 and 1750 B.C.

The proposed terminal date seems to have found general acceptance with a margin of 50 years on either side. Ghosh⁶ likes to view it as 1700 B.C. at the latest while to Dales⁷ 1800 B.C. seems to be more acceptable. Besides, Oppenheim⁸ points out that the eastern trade of Mesopotamia via Bahrein in the Persian Gulf came to an end after Hammurabi whose date is 1792-1750 B.C.⁹ Oppenheim,¹⁰ however, feels that this trade led to "near or beyond Oman"; but, in view of the contact between Mesopotamia and the Indus valley via Bahrein,¹¹ this eastern trade of Mesopotamia seems to have led to the Indus Valley also. In fact, the collapse of the Harappan civilization about 1750 B.C. seems to coincide with the collapse of the Mesopotamian eastern trade about the same time. This may be a significant piece of internal

The C-14 dates from the Pre-Harappan and Harappan levels of Kalibangan have been separately published. D. P. Agarwal et al, 'Radio-Carbon Dates of Kalibagan Samples' in *Current Science*, No. 4, February 20, 1968, pp. 96-99. The earliest date from the Harappan level (sample from just above the natural soil) is 4320 ± 120 B.P or 2370 ± 120 B.C. (based on the half-life of 5730 ± 40 years), TF. 155

6 A Ghosh, 'The Indus Civilization—its Origins, Authors, Extent and Chronology' in *Indian Prehistory*, 1964, ed. V. N. Misra and M.S. Mate, 1965, p. 122.

7 G. F. Dales, 'Recent Trends in the Pre- and Proto-historic Archaeology of South Asia' in *Proc. of the American Philosophical Society*, Vol. 110, No. 2, 1966, p. 134.

8 L. Oppenheim, *Ancient Mesopotamia*, 1963, p. 64.

9 G. Roux, *Ancient Iraq*, 1966, p. 178.

10 L. Oppenheim, *loc. cit.*

11 P. V. Glob and T. G. Bibby, 'A Forgotten Civilization of the Persian Gulf' in *Scientific American*, Vol. 203, No. 4, 1960, pp. 62-71; S. R. Rao, 'A Persian Gulf Seal from Lothal' in *Antiquity*, Vol. 37, June 1963, pp. 96-99.

Mesopotamian evidence substantiating the C-14 date of 1750 B. C. as the end-point of the Harappans.

The proposed upper limit, however, calls for an examination in the light of archaeology. Agarwal¹² feels, after an examination of the relevant archaeological evidence, that this conforms to what we know from archaeology. At this point one may take into consideration two pieces of data one of which has actually been examined by Agarwal.¹³

On a dark grey steatite bowl from Mesopotamia datable to c. 2700-2500 B. C. "a typically Indian bull is shown with its hump back".¹⁴ Agarwal¹⁵ does not consider it to be of any chronological significance because "except for the bull there is nothing characteristically Indian about it, much less Harappan". What he seems to overlook, however, is the fact that the Indian type of the bull represented constitutes, in itself, an evidence of a pre-Sargonic contact between India and Mesopotamia. Zeuner¹⁶ thinks that the Indian type bull "characterised externally by a prominent hump on the shoulder, a long face, usually steeply upright horns, drooping ears, small brow-ridges which give it a peculiar expression, a dewlap and slender legs" was domesticated in India. He calls it "a virtual certainty".

The second piece of evidence, not examined by Agarwal, relates to the find of a male stone head in a presumably Harappan context at Dabarkot, North Baluchistan by Stein.¹⁷ During-Caspers¹⁸ who has examined the piece in

12 D. P. Agarwal, *op. cit.*, 1966, pp. 139-48.

13 *Ibid.*, p. 148.

14 M. E. L. Mallowan, *Early Mesopotamia and Iran*, 1965, p. 22.

15 D. P. Agarwal, *op. cit.*, p. 141.

16 F. E. Zeuner, *A History of Domesticated Animals*, 1963, pp. 237-38. I am indebted to Sri D. Sen for kindly drawing my attention to this

17 A. Stein, *An Archaeological Tour in Waziristan and North Baluchistan*, 1929, p. 63.

18 E. C. L. During-Caspers, 'A Male Head found at Dabarkot' in *Antiquity*, Vol. 37, No. 4, 1963, p. 294.

detail feels that it is closely comparable to the Early Dynastic Sumerian sculpture of the Diyala region and that it is either an import from that area or a local copy of the Sumerian Early Dynastic model. She¹⁹ also adds: "I would interpret the find of this small head from Dabarkot as evidence for the fact that, already before the Akkadian period, important contacts were kept up between the two regions (i. e., the North-Baluchistan-Indus area and the Diyala region). This means that the Harappan civilization already existed and—what is more important—that trading posts such as Dabarkot had already been established, a fact which suggests that this civilization was no longer in the elementary stages". Similarly, Mallowan²⁰ also believes that the process of transit trade between South Mesopotamia and the Indus valley through South Iran "was perhaps already established at the end of the Early Dynastic period (c. 2500 B. C.).....". The implication of these opinions on the upper date-limit of the Harappan civilization is obvious.

It should, of course, be added that the Mesopotamians at this stage might be trading with the pre-Harappans in Sind, with the Kot Diji people in particular. In fact, a pre-Harappan substratum at Dabarkot has been alluded to.²¹ Unfortunately there is nothing so far in the pre-Harappan assemblage of Sind or, for that matter, Baluchistan, which will suggest an Early Dynastic Mesopotamian contact. At the present stage of our knowledge, it would possibly be logical to think that the Early Dynastic Mesopotamians, if they traded at all with the Indus valley as During-Caspers and Mallowan suggest, traded with the Harappan civilization itself.

19 E. C. L. During-Caspers, 'Further Evidence of Cultural Relations between India, Baluchistan and Iran and Mesopotamia in Early Dynastic times' in *Journal of the Near Eastern Studies*, Vol. 42, Nos. 1 and 2, 1965, pp. 53-56.

20 *Ibid.*, 1956, p. 56.

21 M. E. L. Mallowan, *op. cit.*, pp. 22-23.

INDOLOGICAL NOTES

D. C. SIRCAR

1. *The Balotra*

There is a story about the Caulukya king Jayasimha Siddharāja (c. 1094-1114 A.D.) of Gujarat told by the Muslim Chronicler Muhammad 'Awfi who observes in his *Jami'ul Hikāyat* that he never heard a story to be compared with this.¹

During the reign of Rāi Jaising (Rājā Jayasimha), there were a mosque and a minaret at the city of Khambāyat on the sea-shore (i.e. at Cambay in the Kaira District of Gujarat). The Pārsī settlers of the city instigated the local Hindūs to attack the Musalmāns of Khambāyat and consequently the minaret was destroyed and the mosque burnt, eighty Musalmāns having been killed in the incident. A Muhammadan named 'Ali, who was the *Khatīb* (reader of the *khutba*) at the Khambāyat Mosque, escaped and reached Nahrwala (i.e. Anhilvādā or Anahilapātaka, the capital of the Caulukyas) for putting up his case before the judicial officers of the king. The officers were, however, inclined to screen the culprits. But, once when the king was going out ahunting, *Khatīb* 'Ali had the opportunity of placing in the king's hands a *kasīda* in which he had stated the whole case in Hindi verse. The king felt that 'Ali might not get justice from his judges since 'a difference of religion was involved in the case'. He therefore himself visited Khambāyat in the guise of a tradesman and learnt all about the incident. The king then punished - two

1 Elliot and Dowson, *History of India as told by its own Historians*, Vol. II, pp 162 ff; cf *Ep. Ind.*, Vol XXXIV, p 146; Sircar, *Stud. Soc. Adm. Anc. Med. Ind.*, Vol I, pp 96-97.

leading men from each of the Brāhmaṇa, Pārsi and other non-Muslim communities and gave to the Muhammadans of Khambāyat a lakh of silver coins called Balotra in order to enable them to rebuild the mosque and minaret. *Khatib 'Alī* was favoured with a present of four articles of dress.

Instances of such religious toleration are indeed rare in the history of the world. But we are concerned here with the name Balotra applied to a class of silver coins. Elsewhere in his book, 'Awfī speaks of a merchant of Nahrwala, who deposited nine lakh Balotras in the hands of a person.² In a third story about Rai Garpāl of Nahrwala (probably Kumārapāla, c. 1144-73 A.D.), 'Awfī says how the king gave one lakh of Balotras as a thank-offering.³ But in a fourth story, he mentions counterfeit Dirhams manufactured by the brother of a king of Hind who had obtained the chieftainship of Nahrwala from the said king.⁴ If, by *Dirham* which is a derivative of Greek *Drachma* like the Indian *Dramma*, etc., coins of the same type as the Balotra are meant, it may have been the popular silver coin of early medieval India known as *Dramma*, *Rūpaka*, *Dharāṇa*, *Kārṣāṇa* (*Kāhaṇa*), *Purāṇa* and *Cūrṇī*, which weighed, in some areas, about 20 *ratis* (about 36 grains) and, in others, about 32 *ratis* (about 58 grains). Dirham, as we shall see below, is elsewhere mentioned by 'Awfī as the most popular coin in the dominions of the descendants of Sultān Mahmūd (998-1030 A.D.), who were ruling from Lahore.⁵ Both the Balotra and Dirham of 'Awfī may be the silver issues of the Bull-and-Horseman type bearing the name or title *Sāmantadeva* and weighing about

2 Elliot and Dowson, *op. cit.*, p. 168.

3 *Ibid.*, pp. 170

4 *Ibid.*, p. 166-67.

5 *Ibid.*, p. 188.

32 *ratis* since their minting is known to have been continued for centuries.⁶

The coin-name Balotra has not yet been traced in Indian sources. Its significance has also not been determined. But it appears that silver coins of the above class were so called because they were minted at a place of the same name. The case then would be practically similar to that of such coins as (1) Lokki-gadyāṇa, explained as 'the Gadyāṇa coin manufactured at Lokki (i.e. Lokkigundi, modern Lakkundi in the Dharwar District, Mysore State); (2) Lokkiya-vīsa, i.e. the Vīsa (Viṁśaka or Viṁśopaka) minted at the same place; (3) Nellūr-mādai or the Mādai coin minted at Nellore; etc.⁷

Balotra (lat. 25° 49', long. 72° 21' 10'') is a well-known town in the Jodhpur Division of Rajasthan, on the road from Balmer (or Barmer) to the city of Jodhpur, 62 miles south-west of the latter. It stands on the right bank of the Lūnī river, on the high road from Jodhpur to Dwarka, the celebrated pilgrim spot at the western extremity of Gujarat. There is therefore a good gathering, at Balotra, of pilgrims and devotees as well as of others requisite to minister to their wants, so that the Bazar is crowded with passengers and filled with goods of various kinds. A fair, which lasts for fifteen days and is attended by many thousands of people, is held at Balotra annually in March.⁸

It is not improbable that the silver coins manufactured by the moneyers of Balotra were popular in the Caulukya kingdom, although it is difficult to say whether the Balotra region formed a part of the said kingdom. That question is of course not of great consequence since, in ancient and

6 Cf. Smith, *Catalogue of Coins*, pp. 243, 245, 247-48; Sircar, *Stud. Ind. Coins*, p. 16.

7 Sircar, *Ind. Ep. Gloss*, pp. 376, 435, 436.

8 Thornton's *Gazetteer*, s.v. *Balotra*.

medieval India, the manufacture of coins was largely in the hands of licensed private agencies ; moreover, coins minted anywhere were legal tender because their value was usually determined by the market price of their metal.⁹

In any case, the possibility of the Balotra coins being the silver money manufactured by the moneyers of the town of Balotra in the Jodhpur region reminds us of another story told by 'Awfi about Mas'ud III (1099-1115 A. D.), a descendant of Sultān Mahmūd, in the following words :

"When Yaminud Daula Mahmūd (Sultān Mahmūd) came to the throne, and the effects of his greatness spread through all countries, and his rule swept away the idol temples and scattered the worshippers, some sharp men of Hindūstān formed a plan [for enriching themselves]. They brought out a Dirham of great purity¹⁰ and placed a suitable price upon it. Time passed on and the coin obtained currency. Merchants coming from Muhammadan countries used to purchase these Dirhams and carry them to Khurāsān. When the people grew accustomed to the value of the coin, the Indians began by degrees to debase the standard. The merchants were unaware of this depreciation, and finding a profit upon silver, they brought that metal and gold from all parts of the world, and sold it for [the debased coins of] copper and brass, so that, by this trick, the wealth of the Muhammadans was drawn to Hindūstān. When 'Alāud-daula (Mas'ud III) ascended the throne, this grievance had become intolerable, and he was determined to remedy it, and

9 See Sircar, *Stud. Ind. Coins*, pp. 105-06

10 It may be pointed out that the analysis of a Sāmantadeva coin showed 894.6 (i.e. 89.46 per cent) silver, the balance being copper

1000

with a trace of gold (Smith, *op. cit.*, p. 243, note 1), while the silver content of the Kṣatrapa coins of Western India was about 80.28 or 79.37 per cent only (*JNSI*, Vol. XXIX, p. 65).

consulted the merchants as to the measures most proper to be taken to effect this purpose. They advised that the debased coinage should be exchanged for good coins from the royal treasury. Accordingly, 'Alāud-daula gave the necessary orders, and 100,000,000 Dirhams were issued from the treasury to the mint, and thence distributed to the servants of the Almighty as redress and compensation.'¹¹

It will be seen that, just as the above Dirhams manufactured by some moneymen of a place in the north-western regions of Hindūstān became popular in the Muslim territories, the silver coins minted by the moneymen of Balotra may have been popular in the kingdom of the Caulukyas.

2. *Matrimonial Alliance between Seleucus and Candragupta Maurya*

In Chapter XVII (The Hellenic Kingdoms of Syria, Bactria and Parthia) of the *Cambridge History of India*, Vol. I, George Macdonald makes the following observation on the reference to the matrimonial alliance between Seleucus and Candragupta Maurya in the works of the Classical writers: "Invader and invaded, we are told, concluded an alliance and sealed it by a further compact, which Appian (Syr. 55) calls a *kēdos*, Strabo (XV. 724) an *epigamia*. According to ordinary Greek usage, these two terms are scarcely consistent one with another. The former would naturally signify an actual marriage between individuals, and hence it is frequently argued that Seleucus must have become either the father-in-law or the son-in-law of Candragupta. There seems, however, to be no room in his family circle, as we otherwise know it, for any relationship of the kind. Probably, therefore, it is safer to fall back on the technical meaning of Strabo's word, and to

11 Elliot and Dowson, *op. cit.*, p. 189.

suppose that what is implied is a convention establishing a *jus connubii* between the two royal families. In that land of caste, a *jus connubii* between the two families is unthinkable."¹² We are sorry that the above views are opposed to the evidence of Indian history and are certainly wrong. It is a matter of regret that the author of the Chapter and also the editor of the Volume, for whose scholarship we have the highest regard, had apparently no occasion to read D. R. Bhandarkar's excellent paper entitled 'Foreign Elements in the Hindu Population' appearing in the *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XL, 1911, pp. 7-37.

Before entering into the main question as to whether matrimony was possible between the Maurya and Seleucid houses, we have to deal with a few minor points. In the first place, the word *kēdos* means 'connection by marriage' and *epigamia* is used in the senses of 'inter-marriage' and 'right of inter-marriage'. The expressions 'connection by marriage' and 'intermarriage' do not appear to be so inconsistent with each other as supposed by Macdonald. The use of the two words by different authors, in our opinion, makes it abundantly clear that what they meant is connection by marriage or intermarriage. Secondly, contracting a matrimonial alliance between two royal families does not really mean that the two kings had to be either father-in-law or son-in-law since any member of one sex belonging to one family could have been given in marriage to a member of the opposite sex pertaining to the other family. Thirdly, the claim that we know all members of both sexes in Seleucus's family seems to be an exaggeration. There are also several other points, besides these, to be considered in this connection.

12 See p. 341

13 *Manusmṛti*, X. 5 ff.; cf. III, 12ff., for Manu's preference to *savarna* marriage (i.e. marriage within one's own *varna*).

It is well known that the ancient Indian law-givers allowed *anuloma* marriage, so that a Brāhmaṇa could take his wife from the Kṣatriya, Vaiśya and Śūdra classes ; the Kṣatriya from the Vaiśya and Śūdra communities and the Vaiśya from the Śūdras.¹³ *Pratiloma* marriage, i. e. the marriage of the male of the lower order with a female of the higher class was resented by the law-givers ; but their recognition of the progeny of such unions shows that *pratiloma* marriages were also prevalent in the society.¹⁴

Another well known fact is that the leaders of ancient Indian society were eager to place the foreigners in the social organisation of the country ; e.g., Manu¹⁵ regards the Kāmbojas, Yavanas (Greeks), Śakas, Pāradas, Pahlavas, Cinas, etc., as degraded Kṣatriya, while Patañjali's *Mahābhāṣya*¹⁶ regards the Śakas and Yavanas as *anirāvasita* (pure) Śūdra. Even the *Gautama Dharmasūtra*¹⁷ regards the Yavanas or Greeks as sprung from the Śūdra females and Kṣatriya males.¹⁸

The same attitude was exhibited by the ancient Indian law-givers in locating the various Nonaryan tribes in the Indian social organisation, and it is well known how Manu classes among degraded Kṣatriyas, along with the Kāmbojas, Yavanas, etc., such Nonaryan peoples as the Paundrakas, Codas or Audras, Drāvidas, Kirātas, Daradas and Khaśas.¹⁹ Now Candragupta apparently belonged to the Moriya (Māyūrika) clan of Himalayan Mongoloids living in the Pippalivana region about the Nepalese Tarai. Although the orthodox Brāhmaṇas regarded them as Vṛṣala or Śūdra,

14 *Ibid.*, X. 11 ff.

15 *Ibid.*, X. 43-44.

16 On Pāṇini, II. 4.10.

17 IV. 21.

18 *CHI*, Vol. I, p. 240 and note.

19 Cf. Sircar, *Stud. Soc. Adm. Anc. Med. Ind.*, Vol. I, p. 49.

the Mauryas themselves claimed to be pure Kṣatriya.²⁰ In this connection, reference should also be made to the well-known tradition, according to which the Yādavas, Yavanas, Bhojas and Mlecchas descended respectively from Yadu, Turvasu, Druhyu and Anu, the discarded sons of king Yayāti of the lunar race.²¹ Under the above circumstances, can we think that it was impossible for Candragupta Maurya or a member of his family to marry a girl of the house of Seleucus?

The said attitude of the leaders of early Indian society towards the foreigners and Nonaryans is interesting in view of the fact that many of the Rājpūt Kṣatriya clans were of foreign or Nonaryan origin. Thus the Solarikis and Rāthods were of Karnāṭa origin while the Padīhārs were foreigners of the Hūṇa-Gurjara stock.²²

When a foreign or Nonaryan tribe became Hinduised, its leaders claimed the status generally of the Kṣatriya, though the orthodox Brāhmaṇists were inclined to assign the position of degraded Kṣatriya at least to the people

20 *Ibid.*, p 103, note 2. Note that the *Mudrārāksasa* represents Cāṇakya as addressing Candragupta as a Vṛṣala, while the *Divyāvadāna* mentions Bindusāra declaring himself to be a *Mūrdhābhīṣikta* Kṣatriya. The Purāṇas regard the Nandas and their successors as Śūdras See, e.g., *Mudrārāksasa*, Act III; *Divyāvadāna*, ed. Cowell and Neil, p. 270; Pargiter, *The Purāṇa Text*, etc., p. 25. Although the Śātavāhana king Gautamīputra Śātakarni called himself *eka-Brāhmaṇa* (the unique Brāhmaṇa) his ancestor Simuka is called Vṛṣala in the Purāṇas See Sircar, *Sel Ins.*, 1965 ed., p. 204, text line 7; Pargiter, *op. cit.*, p. 38, note 2. The Mongoloid Śākyas, like the Moriyas (Mauryas), are called Kṣatriya in the Buddhist literature (Raychaudhuri, *PHAI*, 1938, pp. 85, 295), though the Buddha, born in the Śākyā clan, is sometimes called Vṛṣalaka or Śūdra (*Saṃyuttanikāya*, Vol. I, p. 162; Mookerji, *Hindu Civilization*, p. 264).

21 See *Mahābhārata*, I. 175. 36-38; cf. *Matsya Purāṇa*, 34.30; etc.

22 See Sircar, *The Guhilas of Kışkindhā*, p. 17.

of the ruling families, while the rank and file, developed into a caste, could be characterised as Śūdra in spite of their own claim to be Kṣatriya. As we had occasion to point out elsewhere, "It was easy for the ruling classes to sustain their social status [of the Kṣatriya] as they had no difficulty in contracting matrimonial alliance with other Indian ruling families since,...in ancient India, communal consideration played little part in that matter."^{22a}

Attention may be drawn to a few interesting cases of marriage in early Indian history, which would throw light on the problem under consideration.

1. The Junagadh inscription (150 A.D.) describes the Kārdamaka-Śaka *Mahākṣatrapa* Rudradāman I as *narendrakanyā-svayamvarā-āneka-mālyā-prāptā-dāman*, 'one who received as his share many garlands in the *svayamvaras* of princesses.'²³ This could hardly have referred to the Śaka ruler's marriage with Scythian princesses, not only because the stress is on the plurality of the *svayamvara*, but also because *svayamvara* was a typical Kṣatriya custom. Thus Śaka Rudradāman indirectly claims to have married in several Kṣatriya families.

2. The Junagadh inscription also refers to the close relationship between Śaka Rudradāman and king Śātakarṇi of Dakṣināpatha, who is no other than Gautamiputra Śātakarṇi claiming to be 'the unique Brāhmaṇa', even though the Śātavāhanas were Dravidians claiming the status of the Brāhmaṇa apparently owing to a little Brāhmaṇa blood in their veins.²⁴ The closeness of relationship is clarified by a Kanheri inscription²⁵ which mentions the daughter of *Mahākṣatrapa* Ru[dra], i.e. Rudradāman, as the

22a *Ibid.*, p. 18.

23 *Sel Ins*, *op. cit.*, p. 179, text line 15.

24 *Ibid.*, p. 178, text line 12.

25 Cf. *The Age of Imperial Unity*, p. 203.

wife of Vāsiṣṭhiputra Śātakarnī who was obviously a co-uterine younger brother of Vāsiṣṭhiputra Pulumāvi and a son of Gautamiputra Śātakarnī.

3. The Ikṣvāku king Virapuruṣadatta (c. 250-75 A.D.) of Vijayapuri in the Nāgārjunikonda valley married Rudradhara-bhāṭṭārikā, daughter of the *Mahārāja* of Ujjayinī, who was no doubt a Śaka *Mahākṣatrapa*, probably Rudrasena I (200-44 A.D.) or II (254-74 A.D.).²⁶

4. The Ikṣvāku king Ehuvula Śāntamūla (c. 285-335 A.D.), son of Virapuruṣadatta, married Varmabhaṭā who was the daughter of the *Mahākṣatrapa* of the Bṛhatphalagotra undoubtedly to be identified with a Śaka ruler of Western India.²⁷ The claim of the *Mahākṣatrapa* to have belonged to the Bṛhatphala-gotra is interesting in view of the remarkable Hinduisation of Śaka chiefs like Rśabhadatta (119-23 A.D.).²⁸ That Varmabhaṭā belonged to the Śaka house of Western India is not only indicated by her father's designation *Mahākṣatrapa*, but also by the fact that Varmabhaṭā's representation on the *chāyā-stambha* (figure-bearing memorial pillar), raised for her, shows her in a foreign lady's dress (*udicya-vesā*). She has a headdress above her locks (not tied in a knot) and wears an upper garment that covers her bust and a scarf covering her right shoulder and upper right arm and also her left forearm.

5. A seal of *Mahādevī* Prabhudamā, daughter of *Mahākṣatrapa* Rudrasimha I and sister of Rudrasena I, was discovered at the site of Vaisālī, modern Basarh in the Muzaffarpur District, Bihar.²⁹ She seems to have been married to a ruler of the said region.

26 Sircar, *Sac. Sāt. L. Dec.*, pp. 22-23.

27 *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXXIV, pp. 20ff.

28 Cf. *Sel. Ins.*, *op. cit.*, pp. 164ff.

29 See Bhandarkar's List of Inscriptions, No. 1736.

6. A *Mahārāja* bearing the West Indian Śaka name Rudradāman or Rudradāmaśrī ruling over the Mirzapur District, U. P., about the third century A.D. is known from a recently published inscription.³⁰ He seems to have been the son of a Śaka princess of Western India who was probably married to a ruler of the Mirzapur region.

7. The Gupta emperor Candragupta II (376-414 A.D.) himself married Kuberanāgā of the clan of the Nāgas (who were Nonaryans claiming the status of the Kṣatriya) and gave his daughter Prabhāvatiguptā in marriage to the Brāhmaṇa king Rudrasena II of the Vākāṭaka family of the Viṣṇuvṛddha-gotra.³¹ Likewise, a Vākāṭaka princess was married to the Andhra-Dravidian king Mādhavarāman I of the Viṣṇukuṇḍin family,³² while king Kākusthavarman of the Kadamba family, which originally claimed the status of the Brāhmaṇa and later that of the Kṣatriya, gave one of his daughters in marriage to a prince of the Gupta dynasty and apparently another to the Vākāṭaka king Narendrasena.³³ This also reminds us of the matrimonial relations of the Buddhist Pālas of Bengal with the Karṇāṭa-Dravidian Rāṣṭrakūṭas of the Deccan³⁴ and of the Gāhādavāla king Govindacandra with the Karṇāṭa-Chikkora (Dravidian) princess Kumāradevī.³⁵

8. The Kalacuris of foreign origin claimed descent from the Haihayas and contracted matrimonial relations with the foreign Hūṇas³⁶, the Karṇāṭa-Dravidian Rāṣṭrakūṭas³⁷ and the Buddhist Pālas of Bengal and Bihar.³⁸

30 *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXXIV, p. 245.

31 *Suc. Sāt. L. Dec.*, p. 135.

32 *Sel. Ins.*, *op. cit.*, p. 478, verse 31; Bhandarkar's List, No 1708

33 Ray, *DHNI*, Vol I, pp. 288, 304, etc.

34 *Ibid.*, p. 528

35 Bhandarkar's List, No 1227.

36 Ray, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 761.

37 *Ibid.*, Vol I, p. 298.

3. *Date of the Hisse-Borālā Inscription
of Vākātaka Devasena*

The date of the stone inscription³⁸ of Vākātaka Devasena from Hisse-Borālā (near Washim in the Akola District, Maharashtra) is of great importance, it being given as Śaka 380 (458-59 A.D.) corresponding to the year 3020 of a cycle. In the first place, it offers a definite date for the reign period of the Vākātaka king Devasena, for whose chronology no definite clue, besides palaeography, was hitherto available. Considering the palaeography of the records of Devasena and his son Hariṣeṇa, it appears that the above date (458-59 A.D.) fell about the beginning of Devasena's rule so that his reign should better be assigned to the latter half of the fifth century A.D. Secondly, the Badami inscription³⁹ of Pulakeśin I, dated Śaka 465 (543-44 A.D.), was so far the earliest epigraphic record associating the Śakas with the reckoning of 78 A.D., though the original *Lokavibhāga* by Śimhāśūri is stated to have been composed in the Śaka year 380 corresponding to the twentysecond regnal year of the Pallava king Śimhavarman of Kāñcī.⁴⁰ Thirdly, the inscription equates Śaka 380 with the year 3020 of a cyclic reckoning of the astronomers.

The date portion of the epigraph in line 1 has been differently read and interpreted.⁴¹ V.B. Kolte reads it as [madhya-ga]tasya vṛī(vṛī) 20 saptarṣayar = uttarā[s = īparī]

38 See B. V. Kolte in *Taiun Bhārat* (Marāṭhī Weekly) dated 12.4.64, *Journal of the Vidarbha Samśodhan Mandal* (Marāṭhī), 1954, pp. 134-56, and Dr. Mirashi Felicitation Vol., pp. 372 ff; Sm. Sobhana Gokhale in *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXXVII, pp. 1-4; G. S. Gai and S. Sankaranarayanan, *ibid.*, pp. 5-8.

39 Sircar, *Sel. Ins.*, Vol. I, 1965 ed., p. 482; cf. *Ind. Ep.*, pp. 259-60.

40 Sircar, *Suc. Sāt.*, p. 176.

41 Cf. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXXVII, pp. 1-8.

a(sa?)ṣṭy-āṁśak-one 380, i.e. “when the Seven Seers (*Saptarṣi*) had travelled $\frac{1}{8}$ th or $\frac{1}{10}$ th degree in the *Uttara-Phalgunī* *nakṣatra* in the year 380 which should be taken as of Śālivāhana Śaka era of 78 A.D.”⁴² Sm. Gokhale reads the said portion as ...*tasya vrittasya vrā* 20 *Saptarṣayūttara-Suvacha...[gat-ā]bda Śak[ā]nā[ṁ]* 380 and says that “it is difficult to offer any satisfactory interpretation of this reading.”⁴³ G. S. Gai and S. Sankaranarayanan have read the section as [*Dharma-su*]*tasya vri(vi)tasya* 3020 *sapt-ārsaya uttarāsu Pha[lgunī]su Śakānām* 380 which seems to be an improvement upon the readings of Kolte and Sm. Gokhale; unfortunately the interpretation of the passage offered by Gai and Sankaranarayanan seems to be ‘too original’ to find favour with the generality of scholars.⁴⁴

The *Bṛhatsaṁhitā*⁴⁵ says—

āsan = *Maghāsu Munayah* fāsatī pīthvīḥ *Yudhiṣṭhīre* nṛpatau /
śad-dvika-pañca-dvi-yutāḥ Śaka-kālas = *tasya rājñāś=ca* //
ek-aikasmin = ḥkṣe śataṁ śataṁ te caranti varṣāṇām / etc.

42 *Ibid.*, p. 3. Elsewhere (p. 5) we have *vru(dhru?)* 20 *Saptarṣaya* *Uttarā=ū[pari]*, etc., in Kolte’s reading. His interpretation of the passage is that “[in the year] 380 when the Seven Sages (i.e. constellation *Ursa Major*) were in the [asterism] *Uttarā* having progressed upto $\frac{1}{8}$ th part of it (or for six years, i.e. the $\frac{1}{10}$ th part of 360, the total number of degrees).” In this connection, Kolte refers to Varāhamihira’s *Bṛhatsaṁhitā*, XIII. 3-4, according to which the Sages, who stay in a *nakṣatra* for a century, were in *Maghā* when king *Yudhiṣṭhīra* was ruling the earth 2526 years before the commencement of the Śaka era in 78 A.D. In Kolte’s opinion, the Sages were in *Uttarā* or *Uttara-Phalgunī* in the *Yudhiṣṭhīra* years 201-300 and 2901-3000 (i.e. Śaka 374-474). The Sages are supposed to have crossed $\frac{1}{8}$ of the 800 *kalās* or $\frac{1}{10}$ of the 360 degrees, i.e. they had spent 6 years in *Uttarā* from Śaka 374, i.e. when the year was Śaka 380. This is an unsatisfactory interpretation of a passage which is wrongly deciphered.

43 See *Ep Ind.*, Vol XXXVII, pp. 2 and 7.

44 Cf. *ibid.*, pp 6 and 7.

45 XIII 3-4.

Kalhaṇa also quotes the statement in his *Rājatarāṅgiṇī* (I. 58) in connection with the Kashmirian contemporary of Yudhiṣṭhira. In this passage, *ṣad-dvika-pañca-dvi-yutah Śaka-kālaś-taya rājñah* would normally mean that the interval between Yudhiṣṭhira (i. e. the beginning of his reign) and the Śaka era (i.e. the commencement of the era) was 2526 years. But this has been interpreted by Gai and Sankaranarayanan as 2512 years by taking *ṣad-dvika* to mean $6 \times 2 = 12$.

Secondly, the expression *Śaka-kāla* has been explained as 'the Vikrama-Śaka of 57 B. C.' and not 'the Śālivāhana-Śaka of 78 A.D.' It is, however, impossible to ascribe this meaning of *Śaka-kāla* to Varāhamihira because, in the sixth century A.D. when the said astronomer flourished, there was no possibility of any confusion between the eras of 58 B.C. and 78 A.D. Then the word *Śaka* did not develop the sense of 'an era', the name of Vikramāditya had not yet been associated with the era of 58 B.C. and the Vikramāditya saga was in its infancy and the story of Śālivāhana was not yet heard of.⁴⁶

Thirdly, the passage *3020 saptā* has been understood to mean '3027' so that the Yudhiṣṭhira year 3027 would correspond to Śaka 380. But the interpretation in which the word *saptā* has to be separated from *Saptarṣi* appears to be too original to appeal to anyone. Moreover, if the Yudhiṣṭhira year 3027 = Śaka 380 (458-59 A. D.), the Yudhiṣṭhira era began in 3027—380 = 2647 years before the commencement of the Śaka era in 78 A.D. (i.e. 2647—78 = 2569 B.C.) although it is 2526 years (indicating 2449 B.C.) according to Varāhamihira and Kalhaṇa and 2512 years according to an emendation suggested by Gai and Sankaranarayanan.

46 Cf. Sircar, *Ind Ep*, pp 255, 262.

It will be seen that, while Yudhiṣṭhīra is said to have flourished (i.e. to have begun to rule) 653 years after the commencement of the Kali-yuga in 3102 B.C., i.e., in 3102—653 = 2449 B.C., the Hisse-Borālā inscription records another astronomical tradition according to which Yudhiṣṭhīra flourished 3102—2569 = 533 years after the commencement of the Kali-yuga. The difference between 653 and 533 is 120 years. Besides these two well-known conflicting dates of Yudhiṣṭhīra or the Bhārata war, i.e. 3102 B.C. and 2449 B.C., there are numerous other traditions which are mutually conflicting, and the most notable among them is the Purāṇic tradition giving the period between the birth of Parikṣit (immediately after the Bhārata War) and the accession of Mahāpadma Nanda (some decades before Alexander's invasion of India in 327-324 B. C. i.e. sometime about 400 B. C.) as 1015, 1050 and 1500 years and thus assigning the Bhārata War to c. 1415, 1450 or 1900 B.C.⁴⁷ The Hisse-Borālā inscription seems to add a new conflicting tradition to the list.

It should, however, be noted that the Great Bear's stay in one *nakṣatra* for a century seems to be followed by the Hisse-Borālā tradition as well. Thus if it was in Maghā in 2449 B.C., it would be in the same *nakṣatra* 2700 years later, i.e. 2700—2449 = 251 A.D., so that it would be in Pūrva-Phalgunī in 351 A.D. and in Uttara-Phalgunī in 451 A.D. This may be compared with another Purāṇic tradition,⁴⁸ according to which the Great Bear was in Puṣyā during the reign of Pratīpa (father of Śāntanu and great-grandfather of Parikṣit's great-grandfather) and in Maghā during Parikṣit's reign, while it began its cycle, i.e. came back to Puṣyā (after completing 2700 years) sometime after the end of the Andhra

47 *Ibid.*, p. 319 and note 3.

48 Pargiter, *Puranic Text of the Dynasties of the Kali Age*, p. 75.

DOCTRINE OF EKĀYANA

ATUL CHANDRA CHAKRAVARTI

A list of subjects of study, probably both Vedic and non-Vedic, prevalent in the early Upaniṣadic period, is found in the *Chāndogya Upaniṣad*.¹ The list includes the four Vedas, subjects like *Itihāsa-Purāṇa* as the fifth Veda, grammar, ritual, the science of numbers, omens and wealth, logic, the doctrine of *Ekāyana*, the science relating to the gods and Brahman, the science of beings, the science of war, astronomy, snake-charming, dance and music. The term *Ekāyana* in the list literally means 'the one or the principal way' or 'the way of going to the One'. Śaṅkarācārya explains it as *nītiśāstra* or ethics. Most probably, the significance of the term was well-known in the early period, so that no necessity was felt by the author of the *Upaniṣad* to give a definition of the term. In the *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad*,² we have *svareṣām = ānandānām = upastha ekāyanam*, i.e. 'the organ of generation is the seat (*ekāyana*) of all sorts of bliss.' Here the word is used in the sense of 'a seat, centre or meeting place' and not in that of a subject of study. We have therefore to see whether *ekāyana* in the sense of a subject of study can be traced elsewhere in early Indian literature.

It is said in the *Mahābhārata*,³ which is the self-styled *Itihāsa-Purāṇa* and the fifth Veda, that the Veda should be studied with the help of *Itihāsa-Purāṇa*. In this work,⁴

1 VII. 1.2.4; VII. 2.1.

2 II. 4.11.

3 I. 1.204: *itihāsa-purāṇābhyām vedāni samupabṛihayet.*

4 V. 69.15; Critical ed., V. 67.15: *Eṣa ekāyanah ṣaṇṭhā yena yānti manisinah | tam drṣṭvā mṛtyum=atyeti mahānis=tatra na sajlate ||*

Vyāsa mentions the path of *ekāyana* and says that, through this path, the wise proceed [to Vāsudeva or Hṛṣīkeśa, the Lord] and that, seeing Him, the noble cross death and do not get entangled into it. Then, requested by Dhṛitarāṣṭra, Sañjaya explains it to him as the path free from fear by which one goes to Hṛṣīkeśa and attains the highest success or salvation.⁵ Sañjaya says, "A man without self-control can never know Janārdana who has controlled the self. There is no other way of action than self-control. The abandonment of desires of the senses with advertence, and attention and non-injury (*ahimsā*) are doubtless, the source of knowledge [of the Lord]. O king, be wakeful and ready in subduing the senses. Let not your intellect slip away [from the Lord]. Withdraw it from all other things. The Brāhmaṇas regard self-restraint as the source of knowledge. This is [the means of attaining] knowledge and the path through which the wise proceed [to Hṛṣīkeśa]. O king, Keśava is unattainable by men whose senses are not subdued. A man of self-control knows his state through the knowledge of scriptures and *yoga* or mental discipline."⁶

It follows from the evidence of the *Mahābhārata*, as discussed above, that *Ekāyana* is the way of worshipping Vāsudeva-Kṛṣṇa. This doctrine has also been mentioned

5 Cr. ed. 69.16 : *panthānam=akutobhayam..... yena yānti Hṛṣīkeśam prāpnu�ām siddhim=uttamām.*

6. *Ibid.*, V. 67.17-21 :

*n=ākṛtātmā kṛtātmānān jātu vidyāj=Janārdanam |
ātmanas=tu kriyōpāyo n=ānyatr=endriya-nigrahāt ||
indriyāñām=udīrñānām kāmatyāgo='pramādatah |
apramādo='vihirñā ca jñāna-yonir=asariñśayam ||
indriyāñānān yame yato bhava Rājann=atandritah |
buddhiś=ca mā te cyavatu niyacch=āñānam yatas=tatah ||
etaj=jñānānām vidur=viprā dhruvam=indriya-dhāraṇam |
etaj=jñānānān ca panthāś=ca yena yānti maniśinah ||
aprāpyah Keśava Rājann=indriyair=ajitair=nrbhīh |
āgamādhigamād=yogād=vaśi tattve: prasīdati ||*

in the *Īśvarasamhitā*,⁷ a text of the Pañcarātra philosophy of Vaiṣṇavism, as denoting the worship of Kṛṣṇa-Vāsudeva. It may be suggested that *Ekāyana* as a subject of study mentioned in the *Chāndogya Upaniṣad* means the doctrine of the worship of Vāsudeva-Kṛṣṇa. It may be stated in this connection that the name of Kṛṣṇa, son of Devakī, occurs in the *Chāndogya Upaniṣad*,⁸ as a disciple of the sage Ghora Āṅgirasa who taught his renowned pupil, among other subjects, the symbolic interpretation of the Vedic sacrifice as a function of life. Kṛṣṇa too explained the symbolism of the Vedic sacrifice in the *Gītā* and such other topics learnt from his teacher as the immortality of the soul, the praise of the sun and the importance of fixing the last thought on God.⁹ There is no express mention of Kṛṣṇa's divinity in the *Chāndogya Upaniṣad*; but it is stated there that he became free from desire (*apipāsa eva sa babhūva*) after getting instruction from his teacher. This may be taken as a proof of Kṛṣṇa's attaining moral perfection recorded in one of the early Upaniṣads. There is nothing unusual if a prince, who attained perfection through the harmonious development of body and mind, is admired and adored by his followers as we know from the *Mahābhārata*¹⁰ in connection with the Rājasūya sacrifice of Yudhiṣṭhīra. It is stated in the *Rgveda*¹¹ that the Ribhus were men who attained divinity. In the *Āpastambiya Dharmasūtra*, these deified men are called 'gods with human nature' (*manuṣya-prakṛti-deva*), in whose honour sacrifices were performed, the Brāhmaṇas were feasted, and the studies of the Vedas were suspended.

7 I. 18; cf. J. N. Banerjea, *Pañcopāsanā*, p. 38.

8 III. 17.6.

9 See IV. 24-33; II. 17-25; VIII. 9. 5-6.

10 II. 37.17: *pūjyatāyāñ=ca Govinde hetū dvāv=api saṁsthitaū | Veda-vedāṅga-vijñānām balañ=c=āsy=āmītam tathā ||*

11 IV. 334; *manuṣya-prakṛtiñām ca devānām yajñe bhuktv=eity=eke.*

The *Vāyu Purāṇa*¹² specifically mentions five famous Vṛṣṇi heroes, namely Saṅkarṣana, Vāsudeva, Pradyumna, Sāmba and Anirudha as 'gods with human nature' (*manuṣya-prakṛti-deva*).

Some scholars have doubted the identity of Kṛṣṇa Devakī-putra of the *Chāndogya Upaniṣad* and Kṛṣṇa Devakī-putra of the *Mahābhārata* and the Purāṇas on the following grounds—

(1) that Kṛṣṇa as a seer of the Vedic *mantras* or as the pupil of Ghora Āṅgirasa is not known from the Epic and the Purāṇas;

(2) that the similarities discovered between the teachings of Ghora Āṅgirasa expounded to Kṛṣṇa and those of Kṛṣṇa-Vāsudeva explained to Arjuna are dubious. These objections may possibly be met with the following arguments—

In the *Mahābhārata*,¹³ Kṛṣṇa is praised by Draupadī as the best of the seers or sages, who have seen the soul, and also by Dhṛtarāṣṭra as a sage or seer. Kṛṣṇa being a seer is thus not unknown to the epic tradition.

Kṛṣṇa is traditionally regarded as the author of the *Gītā* which is known as the Upaniṣad of the *Mahābhārata*, styled the fifth Veda. Just as in the *Chāndogya Upaniṣad*¹⁴ the teacher is addressed by the pupil as *Bhagavat*, in the *Gītā* also, the disciple Arjuna addresses Kṛṣṇa as *Bhagavat*. Besides the incorporation of Upaniṣadic tennets in the *Gītā*, as stated above, its very name suggests that it is an

12 Ch 97 1-4. *Manusya-prakṛti-devān kūtyamānān=nibodhata |*
Samkarṣaṇo Vāsudevah Pradyumnaḥ Sāmba eva ca ||
Aniruddhaś=ca pañc=aite varṇa-virāh prakīrtitāḥ ||

13 II 12 56. *Ātma-darśana-trptānām=rsiṇām=asi sattamah*; V. 71.5 *R̥sim sanātanatamam vipaścitam vācaḥ samudrāṇ kalaśāṇ yatinām*

14 I. 11.1.

Upaniṣad. The Upaniṣadic mode of a dialogue between a teacher and a student has also been followed in it.

In the Buddhist *AmBaṭṭha Sutta*, Kṛṣṇa is called a sage (*isi* = *ṛṣi*), while, in the *Mahābhārata*,¹⁵ he praises the Āṅgirāsī *śruti* as the best of the *śrutis* (*uttamā śrutiḥ*). In the *Rgveda*,¹⁶ the Āṅgirasas are praised as the singers or seers of the *Sāman*. In the *Gītā*,¹⁷ Kṛṣṇa praises the *Sāmaveda* as the best of the Vedas. This eulogy seems to be due to his respect for the preceptor's family. The *Rgveda*¹⁸ speaks of the Āṅgirasas as the priests of the Bhojas.

Kṛṣṇa's ancestors, according to the Purāṇas and the Epic, are Nahuṣa, Yayāti, Yadu and his four brothers. These names frequently occur in the *Rgveda* wherein¹⁹ the names of Yadu, Turvaśa, Druhyu, Anu and Puru occur together. There is no reason to think that they are different from their namesakes in the Great Epic and the Purāṇas representing Kṛṣṇa as sixth in descent from Yadu, son of Yayāti and grandson of Nahuṣa. Santanu and his brother Devāpi are mentioned in the *Rgveda*.²⁰ They are, according to Yāska, two brothers who were the sons of a Kuru king.²¹ King Parikṣit, Kṛṣṇa's grandnephew, is the sixth in descent from the Kuru king Śāntanu. King Janamejaya Pārikṣita is frequently mentioned in the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa*.²² Macdonell observes, "There can be little doubt that the original kernel of the Epic has as a historical background an ancient conflict

15 VIII. 69.85. [See Raychaudhuri, *EHVS*, 1936, pp. 78 ff.—Ed.]

16 X. 78.5: *Viśvarūpā Āṅgiraso na sāmabhiḥ*; cf. also I. 108.2: *Āṅgirasāṁ sāmabhiḥ studyamānah*.

17 X. 10.22: *vedānāṁ Sāmavedo = 'smi.*

18 III. 53.7: *ime Bhojā Āṅgiraso virūpāḥ.*

19 I. 108.8. [The *Rgveda* mentions them as peoples and not as individuals.—Ed.]

20 X. 98.

21 See H. C. Raychaudhuri, *Studies in Indian Antiquities*, p. 6.

22 VII. 35.6; VIII. 37.7.

between the two neighbouring tribes of the Kurus and the Pañcālas, who finally coalesced into a single people. In the *Yujurveda*, these two tribes already appear united, and in the *Kāthaka*, king Dhṛtarāṣṭra Vaicitravīrya, one of the chief figures of the *Mahābhārata*, is mentioned as a well-known person. Hence the historical germ of the great epic is to be traced to a very early period, which cannot be later than the 10th century B. C.”²³ Hence the name of Kṛṣṇa Devaki-putra of the Epic may reasonably occur in the *Chāndogya Upaniṣad* wherein the doctrine of *Ekāyana* as a mode of worship of Kṛṣṇa-Vāsudeva, explained above, may find a place. In the *Gitā*, Kṛṣṇa says, “Take refuge in me, the One.” This may be regarded as the *Ekāyana* doctrine in its later development as found in the *Gitā*.

23 *A History of Sanskrit Literature*, pp. 284-85.

SECULAR ACTIVITIES OF BUDDHIST MONKS

SM. K. SAHA

In pre-Asokan days, the Buddhist monks are believed to have been devoted exclusively to the religious, spiritual and ecclesiastical practices without giving the least attention to other kinds of activities. The fact, however, that the monks lived as a corporate body in fixed abodes, usually in monasteries specially built for them, could not do away wholly with certain secular functions. The monasteries were no doubt maintained by the lay devotees ; but these had to be planned and constructed according to the requirements of the monks. The *Vinaya Piṭaka*¹ shows that, for the proper management of the corporate body also, a number of office-bearers were selected and appointed. Such appointments were made formally by the assembly of monks (*Saṅgha*) by three announcements and with the unanimous consent of the members present. The monks selected were usually of the best type and were supposed to be free from impulses (*chanda*), hatred or ill-will (*dosa*), delusion or misconception (*moha*) and fear or diffidence (*bhaya*). It will be apparent from the functions of the office-bearers that the monks had to give some attention to certain secular affairs apart from their main religious and spiritual duties. A brief account of the office-bearers as found in the *Vinaya* texts is given below.

1. *Bhatt-uddesaka* (Distributor of Food).²

From the *Cullavagga*,³ we learn that there was once a famine at Rājagaha and it became extremely difficult

1 Cf. P.T.S. ed., Vol. I, pp. 281-85 ; Vol. II, pp. 175-77.

2 *Ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 175.

3 P.T.S. ed., VI 20.

for the people to maintain the supply of food to the community of monks (*Saṅgha-bhutta*). This emergency necessitated the appointment of impartial distributors of food. When the matter was brought to the notice of the Buddha, he allowed gifts of food made by the householders in favour of some of the monks (*uddesa-bhutta*). The householder fixed the number of monks he could afford to feed and handed as many sticks to the Distributor of Food (*salākā-bhutta*). Sometimes the householder extended a general invitation to all the monks on particular days, viz. the first or eighth day of the fortnight, the new-moon or full-moon day and the *uposatha* day.

2. *Bhāṇḍāgārīka* (Store-keeper).⁴

The lay devotees offered robes and other requisites to the monks. As there was no fixed place for storing them, the articles were kept carelessly at various spots and were sometimes spoiled. It was therefore decided that there should be a store-house which would be a part of the monastery, but a separate pinnacled construction or a building or a cave.

With the introduction of the store-house, a monk was selected by the *Saṅgha* to be in charge of it. He was called *Bhāṇḍāgārīka* and was expected to be well-balanced mentally and to know which of the articles were to be stored (*gutt-āguttañ = ca jāneyya*). As the *Bhāṇḍāgārīka* was not always available, some subsidiary office-bearers were selected from among the monks and were put in charge of particular objects ; e.g., (a) *Civara-patiggāhaka*⁵ (Receiver of Robes), (b) *Sātiya-gāhāpaka*⁶ (Receiver of Clothes) and (c) *Patta-*

4 *Vinaya Pitaka*, op. cit., Vol. II, pp. 167, 176.

5 *Mahāvagga*, P.T.S. ed., VIII. 5 ff.; *Cullavagga*, VI. 21.2.

6 *Cullavagga*, VI. 21.3.

*gāhāpaka*⁷ (Receiver of Bowls). Similarly there were receivers of the different kinds of food. In course of time, difficulties arose in the distribution of stored articles. To avoid dissatisfaction among the monks and improper allocation of goods, a number of monks were selected as office-bearers, e.g., *Civara-bhājaka*⁸ (Distributor of Robes), *Yāgu-bhājaka*⁹ (Distributor of Rice-gruel), *Phala-bhājaka*¹⁰ (Distributor of Fruits), *Khajjaka-bhājaka*¹¹ (Distributor of Dry Food) and *Appamattaka-visajjaka*¹² (Distributor of Minor Articles). In the matter of distribution, several rules were formed for the guidance of the office-bearers.

3. *Sen-āsana-paññāpaka*¹³ (Distributor of Beds and Seats).

With the influx of monks in a monastery, sometimes it became difficult to find suitable accommodation for all of them. In order to remove this inconvenience, a monk was selected for the distribution of beds and seats.

4. *Ārāmika-pesaka*¹⁴ (Despatcher of Gardeners).

When it was noticed that the *ārāmikas*¹⁵ (gardeners) deputed for doing some work neglected to do their duty, the practice of selecting a monk as *Ārāmika-pesaka* (Despatcher of Gardeners) was instituted. His duty was to select a gardener who would discharge his duties properly.

7 *Loc. cit.*

8 *Mahāvagga*, VIII. 9.

9 *Cullavagga*, VI. 21.2.

10 *Loc. cit.*

11 *Loc. cit.*

12 *Ibid.*, VI. 21.3.

13 *Loc. cit.*; also 21.2.

14 *Cullavagga*, 21.3.

15 *Mahāvagga*, VI. 15; *Cullavagga*, VI. 21.3, VIII. 3.2.

5. *Navakammika*¹⁶ (Supervisor of Construction and Repairs).

When the Buddha was staying at Vesālī, a poor weaver wanted to construct a monastery with mud and bricks. He expressed his sorrow for not getting a monk to encourage him and to give him instructions. When this matter was brought to the notice of the Buddha, he directed that a monk should be appointed by the *Saṅgha* as *Navakammika*, i.e., supervisor of the construction of and repairs to the monastery. For small works, a *Bhikkhu* of five or six years' standing, for monasteries, a monk of seven or eight years' standing, and for large monasteries, a monk of ten or twelve years' standing should have to be deputed.¹⁷ The monk so deputed should have to dwell near the monastery and not elsewhere. He should abide by the rules of the *Saṅgha*. The term *Navakammika* is also found in many inscriptions.¹⁸

In the Kanheri Buddhist cave inscription of the time of *Rājan Gotamīputra Sāmi-siri-Yañā-Sātakamīni*, it is stated that the overseers (*navakamīka*) of some construction or repairs were the monks who were the Elders (*Thera*) *Bhadrañña* Acala, *Bhadrañña* Gahala, and others.¹⁹ It is stated in an inscription from *Nāgārjunikonḍa*²⁰ that a particular piece of work was caused to be made by the three superintendents of works, *Thera* *Chāndamukha*, *Thera* *Dhammanāndi* and *Thera* *Nāga*.

The *Vinaya Piṭaka* says that the Jetavanavihāra, built with the money of Anāthapindīka at Sāvatthi, was probably

16 *Cullavagga*, VI. 5.17; X. 24.

17 *Ibid.*, X. 24.

18 Lüders' List of Inscriptions, Nos. 154, 773, 987; *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XX, pp. 22-23.

19 Lüders' List, No. 987.

20 *Ep. Ind.*, *loc. cit.*

planned by a monk well-acquainted with the Vinaya rules for the construction of different kinds of rooms and appurtenances to a monastery. In this monastery, there were the following—*vihāra* (dwelling rooms), *parivena* (cells), *kotthaka* (gate chambers), *upaṭṭhāna-sālā* (service-halls), *aggi-sālā* (halls with fire-places), *kappiya-kuṭi* (store-houses), *vacca-kuṭi* (closets), *caṅkama* (cloisters), *udapāna* (wells), *udapāna-sālā* (sheds for the wells), *jantāghara* (bathing places), *jantāghara-sālā* (bath-rooms), *pokkharaṇī* (tanks) and *maṇḍapa* (pavilions).²¹ The construction of a monastery for nuns (*Bhikkhunī-upassaya*) by the grandson of Migāra-mātā (Visākhā) was supervised by Sundarīnandā.²²

The functions of these office-bearers, though of a temporary nature, can be regarded as secular. Hence secularism of a limited character was an aspect of the monastic life of the early Buddhist monks and nuns.

21 *Cullavagga*, VI 4 10 ; VIII. 7 4 ; Dutt, *Early Monastic Buddhism*, Vol I, p. 285.

22 *Bhikkhuni Vibhariga, Pārājika*, 11.

A STORY IN THE BRAHMA PURĀNA

A. K. CHATTERJEE

In the *Brahma Purāṇa*¹ occurs the following interesting story of incest between mother and son.

There lived a Brāhmaṇa called Dhṛtavrata. He was blest with a charming wife named Mahī who gave birth to a handsome son. Immediately after this the father died. The helpless woman then went to the āśrama of the saint Gālava and requested the latter to take care of her infant son. Afterwards, she left the hermitage and took to the oldest profession of the world. Now, it so happened that the son, attaining adolescence, started to lead a care-free life. One day, in a brothel, he met his mother Mahī, and became sexually addicted to her. They had, however, not the faintest idea about their actual relationship :

*mene na putram = ātmīyam sa c = āpi na tu mātaram /
tayoh samāgamaś = c = āśid = vidhinā mātā-putrayoh //
evāḥ bahutithe kāle putre mātari gacchati /
tayoh paraspāram jñānaṁ n = aiv = āśin = mātī-putrayoh //*

But the distasteful truth was revealed afterwards. The grief-stricken mother and son, at Gālava's advice, took a dip in the holy river Gautamī-Gaṅgā (Godāvāri) and were cleansed from their unintentional guilt. The end, therefore, like so many other stories, is not tragic.

The above story reminds us of the legend of king Oedipus, so famous in ancient Hellas. The germ of that story

1 *Varigavāsi* ed. Chapter 92; Venkatesvara Press ed., II. 22.

2 92.10-11.

is to be found in a passage of Homer's *Odyssey*,³ which tells us that Oedipus had unknowingly married his mother called Epicaste (Jocaste) and, when the horrible truth was revealed, the latter hanged herself. This story of incest afterwards became the subject matter of many Hellenic plays including three by the celebrated tragedian Sophocles.⁴ According to Sophocles, the king gouged out his eyes on the truth being revealed to him. The writer in the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*⁵ feels that the Oedipus story has probably a historical basis. The Indian story described above is a close parallel to the Greek legend with this difference that the mother in the former case does not actually marry the son and that the end is not tragic. The reaction in this case is less violent, although not less intense.

The story of the *Brahma Purāna* is in some respect unique, since neither of the two epics nor any of the other Purāṇas has a similar tale. But there is no reason, at the same time, to believe that this story is influenced by the Greek legend of king Oedipus. In the *Mahābhārata*⁶ and the *Smṛti*⁷ works, there are references to the possibility of incestuous relations between mother and son.

In both India and Greece, incest was looked down upon, and the law-givers in both the countries have no kind word for incestuous persons. But in both the instances referred to above, the characters commit this crime quite unintentionally, and, therefore, should be forgiven and pitied.

3 XI. 271; see also trans. E. V. Rieu, p. 178.

4 Viz. *Oedipus Coloneus*, *Oedipus Tyrannus* and *Antigone*.

5 Vol. 16, pp. 712-13.

6 Poona ed., XII. 158. 32, 46.

7 *Manusmṛti*, XI. 104, 172; *Yājñyavalkyasmṛti*, 3. 232; *Viṣṇu-smṛti*, 34. 1,

EVOLUTION OF AŚOKAN LEGENDS IN THE AVADĀNAS¹

C. D. CHATTERJEE

Sri D. K. Biswas has just published an English translation of Jean Przyluski's famous work entitled *La Legende de l'Empereur Aśoka dans les textes Indiens et Chinois* (Paris, 1923). This work written in French is based on Indian and Chinese texts and is divided into two parts. The English translation represents only Part I of the French work. In Part II of his work, Przyluski has given a literal French translation of the Chinese *A-yu-wang-chuan* which, in fact, constitutes the primary source of his dissertation. The Chinese title roughly corresponds to *Aśokarājāvadāna*; and we may, therefore, consider the original of the Chinese text implied by it to be the same as the *Aśokāvadāna*, although *chuan* does not bear exactly the sense of the word *avadāna* in Sanskrit or *apadāna* in Pali and Prakrit, i.e., an act or deed of noble character. Since a complete copy of the original *Aśokāvadāna* has not been made available so far and may, therefore, be presumed to have been lost, and since it has to be read now through its Chinese or French translation, it would have been better if Part II of Przyluski's work would also have been translated. We consider both the parts to be equal in importance: Part I for Buddhistic studies in general and Part II for Aśokan studies in particular.

It is indeed surprising that the treatise on the legends of Aśoka by Przyluski has not been noticed in any work dealing

1 J Przyluski: *The Legend of Emperor Aśoka in Indian and Chinese Texts* translated by Dilip Kumar Biswas, published by Firma K L Mukhopadhyaya, Calcutta, 1967; pages viii+255; price Rs 15 00.

with the history of that illustrious ruler. Leaving aside V.A. Smith whose *Asoka* was published earlier in the Rulers of India Series (Oxford), Macphail, Mookerji (2nd ed.) and Bhandarkar (3rd ed.) have made no reference to it in their respective works on the same subject. It has, however, been referred to by some scholars in their papers published in learned Oriental journals of India and Europe. There can be no divergence of opinion on the fact that to form a correct and comprehensive idea of the Northern Buddhist tradition relating to Asoka, a critical study of the work of Przyluski is essential.

The English translation closely follows its French original in respect of its main divisions. Thus, there are a Preface, an Introduction, nine Chapters, two Appendices (with Notes), a List of Abbreviations, a rich Bibliography and four Indices including the General Index. In addition to these, there are Notes at the end of each Chapter in order to elucidate certain theories or substantiate them with more evidence. There is a Translator's Note (Preface) also in this work, as it should be, but no Contents. In the absence of the latter, the readers are bound to be handicapped.

If translation is a work of art, it must be admitted that Sri Biswas has reached perfection in that direction. His *Legend of Emperor Asoka* indeed reads like an original work on the subject. The speciality of the translation is that the English rendering follows its French original as closely as possible without making the elegance of style suffer in the least. We find this throughout the text. But it is not merely a correct and authentic reproduction of its original in English, since the translator has enriched the work by adding copious notes to supplement those of the author, in the light of the latest theories or more recent discoveries. By taking each and every literary aspect into consideration, we feel

constrained to admit that the translation would add considerably to the reputation, importance and utility of its French original.

En passant it may be mentioned here that we do not see eye to eye with Przyluski in respect of some of the theories inculcated by him in his work, specially those relating to the period of evolution of Aśokan legends and their primary source of information. In his opinion, the Aśokan legends as we find in some Northern Buddhist texts, had their origin some time between 150 and 50 B. C. and were recorded for the first time during that period in a Sanskrit text which is now lost and of which the *A-yū-wang-king* is the only available Chinese version. The Northern Buddhist texts containing those legends, as mentioned by him, are— (1) the Sanskrit original (now lost) of the *A-yū-wang-king* (Nanjo's Cat. No. 1343 : *Aśokarājasūtra*), (2) the Sanskrit original (now lost) of *A-yū-wang-chuan* (Nanjo's Cat. No. 1459 : *Aśokarājavadāna* or *Aśokāvadāna*), (3) the Sanskrit original (now lost) of *A-yū-wang-tseu-Fa-yi-hoai-mu-yin-yuan-king* (Nanjo's Cat. No. 1367 : ? *Aśokarājaputra-Dharmavardhana-cakkhuharanākathā-sūtra*, i.e., *Kuṇālāvadāna*), (4) the Sanskrit original (now lost) of the *Tsa-a-han-king* (Nanjo's Cat. No. 544 : *Samyuktāgamasūtra*), (5) *Aśokāvadānamālā*, (6) *Dīvyāvadāna*, and (7) *Bodhisattvāvadānakalpalatā* (Kṣemendra). There is yet another Chinese work, viz., *Fen-pie-kong-to-luen*, which introduces Aśoka in the story ; but it is more important for forming an idea of the later developments in the psychology of Mahāyāna Buddhism than anything else. Przyluski is of the opinion that the earliest and primary source of the Aśokan legends is the *Aśokasūtra*, i.e., *Aśokarājasūtra* (*A-yū-wang-king*) which was composed at Kauśāmbī between 150 and 50 B.C. The originality of the *Aśokasūtra* (*A-yū-wang-king*) is warranted, amongst other things, by the inclusion of the name of

Candragupta (Chan-na-lo-kie-to), king of Pāṭaliputra and father of Bindusāra, in the list of rulers of Magadha preceding Pusyamitra. We, however, do not agree with Przyluski either that it was the earliest of all the works mentioned above and the primary source of Aśokan legends or that it was composed at Kauśāmbī sometime between 150 and 50 B.C. The earliest and principal source of information relating to the Aśokan legends is the *Kalpanāmaṇḍitikā* (also known as *Kalpanālāṅkṛtikā*), a collection of parables mostly Buddhistic in character. Fragments of the manuscript of this work were discovered in the ruins of a monastery at Turfan in Central Asia (ed. H. Lüders, Leipzig, 1926). It appears to have been composed about 150 A.D. by Kumāralāta, a junior contemporary of the poet Aśvaghoṣa and founder of the Sautrāntika School of Buddhism. In c. 405 A.D., it was translated into Chinese by Kumārajīva. As appears from the Chinese version, he gave it the name of *Sūtrālāṅkāra* and, through inadvertence, attributed it to Aśvaghoṣa. These textual errors should now be corrected in the light of the Turfan manuscript mentioned above and, at the same time, the two Mahāyānistic works bearing almost identical names, viz. *Sūtrālāṅkāra* and *Mahāyānasūtrālāṅkāra*, wrongly attributed to Aśvaghoṣa and Asaṅga respectively in Chinese Buddhist scriptures, should be kept separate and distinct from one another to avoid confusion.² The poet Kumāralāta was a native of Taxila and appears to have flourished towards the middle of the second century A.D. In this context, it may be noted here that the date of that eminent Buddhist scholar and his age as mentioned above, are suggested

2 Some scholars are of the opinion that the *Mahāyānasūtrālāṅkāra* was composed by Maitreyanātha and not by Asaṅga as maintained by Sylvain Lévi.

to us by a clear reference to Kaniṣka (Kaniṣka I) as an earlier king and also by an allusion to the northern expedition of Rudradāman (*Mahākṣatrapa* Rudradāman I) as far as Sāgala (c. 140 A.D.), when we read the fragmentary *Kalpanāmaṇḍitikā* along with the aforesaid *Sūtrālaṅkāra*. In that treasury of parables are to be found the nuclei of Aśokan legends, which appear to have been sorted out, slightly developed and incorporated in a volume by an anonymous Buddhist writer, wherever he might have flourished. Such was the genesis of the *Aśokasūtra* or *Aśokarājasūtra* and the method of its production is by no means unfamiliar or uncommon to our ancient literary tradition. Taking everything into consideration, we would not be justified to assign it to a period earlier than the last quarter of the second century A.D. Its Chinese version, under the patronage of emperor Wu of the Leang dynasty, appeared sometime between 506 and 513 A.D. Since the name of Puṣyamitra (Puṣyamitra Śunga) occurred in the long-lost *Aśokarājasūtra*, as evidenced by its Chinese version, *A-yü-wang-king*, it must have been composed after 150 B.C., as suggested by Przyluski ; but we totally differ from him as regards the lower limit of the period of its composition, which is supposed to be 50 B.C. If the *Aśokarājasūtra* had been of independent origin, as opined by him, then more Aśokan legends were to be found in it and not only those which Kumāralāta had selected to enrich his collection of pious stories such as we find in the Jātaka, the Cariyāpiṭaka, or the Apadāna of the Pali Canon, or the *Jātakamālā* of Āryaśūra, which closely resembles the *Kalpanāmaṇḍitikā*. Admitting for the time being that the *Aśokasūtra* was composed between 150 and 50 B.C., a pertinent question that may be asked here is : how such an interesting legend as that of the courtesan Bindumati and her performance of miraculous deeds in the presence

of emperor Aśoka, which loomed large between Pātaliputra and Sāgala during the first century B.C. and even afterwards, and on which questions are alleged to have been put by the Indo-Greek king Menander (c. 100 B.C.) to the Buddhist monk Nāgasena to ascertain the secret of her acquiring supernatural power, as stated in the *Milindapañha* which appears to have been composed between 50 B.C. and 50 A.D., came to be overlooked? The story of a harlot's possessing psycho-ethical power of such high calibre captured so much the imagination of the masses that adaptations of it are to be found in the Sinhalese *Milindapaśnaya* and the Chinese *Na-sin-pi-khui-king*. Leaving aside the legends of Aśoka which came to be recorded in Ceylon in Pali or Sinhalese, those which were current in Northern India even up to the middle of the seventh century A.D. and to which Hiuen-tsang has drawn our attention in his itinerary are not to be found in the *Aśokasūtra*, excepting those preserved in the *Kalpanāmaṇḍitikā*. An illustration perhaps will not be out of place here. Tissa Ekavīhārika, the brother of Aśoka, who was converted by the Greek Buddhist monk Dhammarakkhita and later was sent to Kalinga (Orissa) for missionary work by the Magadhan Saṅgha, had an attack of elephantiasis, during the period of his stay there, and became an invalid for life. Since he wanted to live alone (hence *Ekavīhārika*), Aśoka had an artificial cave made of huge stone-slabs near Pātaliputra for him. Unable as he was to walk, the Thera had to be carried to the imperial capital and was lodged there till his death. During his life time, a small monastery was built round that cave and was named as Bhojakagiri-vihāra. The massiveness of the stone-slabs used for the construction of that cave gave rise to the story that Aśoka invited a number of superhuman beings to dinner and, at the end of it, requested them to build a cave made entirely

of stone but of such a type as cannot be wrought by human hands. Hiuen-tsang, who saw that interesting Buddhist monument, has recorded the story associated with it and so also the scholiast Dhammapāla (*Paramatthadīpanī* on the *Theragāthā*, vv. 537-46).

The legend of Tissa figures prominently in the *Apadāna* of the orthodox Buddhist school, the Theravādins, but not in a single *Avadāna* text of the heterodox schools of Buddhism. It is indeed surprising that all of them are completely silent about him and his achievements. It has escaped the notice of Przyluski that, if the *Aśokasūtra* or *Aśokarājāsūtra* was of independent origin, at least some of the legends of Aśoka other than those of the *Kalpanāmaṇḍitikā* would have appeared in the former. The *Sūtrālankāra*, which was translated into Chinese by Kumārajīva, should have been his guiding factor in this matter, in the absence of the Turfan manuscript mentioned above.

While we do not agree with Przyluski that the *Aśokasūtra* had an independent origin for reasons stated above, we also differ from him as regards its date. The evolution of Aśokan legends and their incorporation in a single volume, took place, according to him, between 150 and 50 B.C., but, according to us, between 150 and 200 A.D. To be explicit, we consider the first half of that period as the date of composition of the *Kalpanāmaṇḍitikā* and the second, that of the *Aśokasūtra*. The legends of emperor Aśoka, as recorded in both these works, are so fantastic and so imaginary (*kalpanā-maṇḍita*) that they are far away from the bounds of sober history. Aśokan legends also appear in certain Pali chronicles and commentaries composed in Ceylon; but they are not so obviously fabricated and preposterous as we find them in the *Avadāna* texts composed in Sanskrit. For instance, Aśoka was dubbed 'Caṇḍāsoka', according to the Pali chronicles, for conducting a fratricidal war, in the

course of which, as is alleged, all his step-brothers were killed; but the same had its origin, according to the relevant Avadāna texts, in the slaughter, after torturing mercilessly, of all those who, by mistake, entered the 'Hell' of which he was the creator. Indeed, the flight of *kalpanā* (imagination) cannot be higher than this! Again, the mother of Aśoka and of his two co-uterine brothers, Tiṣya and Vītaśoka, was Queen Dharmā who was a princess of the Moriyān royal family, as stated in the *Vāmsatthappakāśini* (commentary on the *Mahāvāimśa*) and the *Mahāvāimśa* of Moggallāna, the so-called 'Kambodian *Mahāvāimśa*'; but in the Avadāna texts, he and his brother Vigataśoka (correct form of his name is definitely 'Vītaśoka', since after his conversion to Buddhism, his monastic name was *Buddhasaññaka* *Vitasoka*) have been represented as the sons of Subhadrāngī, a certain Brāhmaṇa lady of Campā and morganatic wife of Bindusāra. Judging by the custom of marriage and the law of succession prevalent in the royal family of the Moriyās, of which Candragupta was the founder, as borne out by the aforesaid Pāli works, Aśoka was the heir apparent and not Susīma or Sumana, whichever might have been his real name. But in the Avadāna texts, Aśoka has been represented as the usurper! Susīma might have been the eldest son of Bindusāra; but that did not justify his claim to the throne, judging by the law of succession followed in the Moriyān royal family, which clearly appears to have been strictly enforced. Prince Mahinda (Mahendra), from that point of view, had no claim to be the successor of Aśoka, even though he was his eldest son. His mother Devī (*alias* *Vedisādevī* *Sākyakumārī*), though of the purest Kṣatriya clan, was the morganatic wife of Aśoka; and, as such, from the standpoint of the Moriyān law of succession, he was merely a *dātaka* (legitimate son) and not a *devī-kumāra*.

or Queen's son (P. E. VII) having claim to the throne like Kuñala or Tivala (Trivara, 'Three Boons' meaning the Buddha, Dhamma and Saṅgha). The mere fact that the step-brothers of Aśoka, instead of fighting amongst themselves for the throne, took a concerted action against him in the war of succession, under the leadership of Susīma or Sumana, goes a long way to show that the former was the real successor of Bindusāra. The traditions relating to the early life of Aśoka, as recorded in the Avadāna texts, are nothing but fiction. Furthermore, no reasonable doubt can be entertained that the Thera Moggaliputta Tissa was the brightest luminary of the Buddhist Order in the third century B.C. Many facts relating to his intellectual attainments and religious achievements have come to be recorded in a number of Pali chronicles and commentaries composed in Ceylon, on the basis of the *Sīhalatthakathā-Mahāvāṃsa*, the primary source of the Buddhist ecclesiastical tradition, which was compiled by Mahinda and his associates during the period of their missionary work in that island. It may be noted here that, while the *Sīhalatthakathā-Mahāvāṃsa* was the very basis of all the Pali chronicles composed in Ceylon, with the exception of the *Dāṭhāvāṃsa*, the *Sīhalatthakathā* itself was that of all the Pali texts coming under the Tripitaka.³ The name of Moggaliputta who was the President of the Third Buddhist Council, author of the *Kathāvathu*, teacher of Aśoka, and eminent preacher and propagator of Buddhism, through whose pious zeal the Buddhist Saṅgha was united, has totally disappeared from the Avadāna texts and in its place has appeared that of a denizen of the Naṭabhaṭṭikavihāra of Mathurā. He is Upagupta who, though

³ Cf. *Sīhalatthakathā suddhā Mahindena matimatā |*
katā Sīhalabhaṭṭasya Sīhalesu pavattati || Cūlavarīsa, Ch. 37.
 The *Sīhalatthakathā* was also known as *Poranāṭṭhakathā*.

represented in the Avadānas as the teacher of Aśoka, does not figure in any Pali chronicle or commentary composed in Ceylon, even as a contemporary of that Mauryan emperor in the Buddhist Order. Which one of the two is then the fictitious character, Moggaliputta or Upagupta? Fortunately for us, the question has been completely set at rest by Indian epigraphy. In the list of the names of eminent Buddhist saints inscribed on the relic-casket which was discovered inside the Stūpa No. 2 at Sanchi, we find that of the Thera Moggaliputta Tissa in the form 'Mogaliputa'. The identity of the Buddhist monk Mogaliputa with the Thera Moggaliputta has been established by the fact that the other names of the monks inscribed on the same relic-casket are those of his renowned contemporaries, specially the missionaries and their associates who were sent by the Magadhan Saṅgha to preach Buddhism in distant parts of India and abroad, as stated specifically in the *Dīpavaṁsa*, *Mahāvaṁsa*, *Sāsanavaṁsa* and *Samantapāsādikā*.⁴ The bone-relics contained in the casket were those of the Theras whose names have been inscribed on it; and all the *saṅcīra-dhātus* (body relics), along with those of the Buddha (believed to have been enshrined in Stūpa No. 1) and Sāriputta and Moggallāna (enshrined in Stūpa

4 Judging by the list of the succession of teachers, as revealed by the Andher and the Sonari Casket, through the names inscribed on them, we cannot possibly consider the Buddhist saint Mogaliputa (Moggaliputta), whose name has come to be inscribed on them, even to be a junior contemporary of Aśoka. But his namesake of the Sanchi Casket inscriptions, whose name stands alone and unrelated, can justly be identified with the emperor's senior contemporary Moggaliputta Tissa Thera, the Head of the Buddhist Order and President of the Third Buddhist Council. In our opinion, the two Moggaliputtas, one of the Sanchi Casket inscription and the other of the Sonari and Andher Casket inscriptions, should be kept separate and distinct from each other. Palaeography is evidently no help to us to decide the issue (cf. Marshall and Foucher, *Monuments of Sanchi*, Vol I, pp 291-92).

No. 3), were collected by Devī, wife of Aśoka, to consecrate the Vedisagiri-mahāvihāra of which she was the builder and care-taker during her lifetime. Obviously for all of her Buddhistic activities, she had received unstinted help from her royal husband.

When we take into consideration the literary and epigraphic evidence as cited above, the conclusion seems irresistible that the period of the evolution of Aśokan legends and their proper treatment in a single *corpus*, the *Aśokasūtra*, has been underestimated by Przyluski. It clearly appears that, when the first recording of those legends took place, barring the names of only a few members of the family of Aśoka and his pilgrimages to some sacred places of the Buddhists, everything else about him had completely passed into oblivion in India, unlike what we find in Ceylon. The evolution of those legends and their first recording at a much later period than 150-50 B.C. appear to be a greater probability. But before any period could be suggested for the composition of the *Aśokasūtra* or *Aśokarājasūtra* (*A-yū-wang-king*), we must take into consideration the arguments of Przyluski, which have been advanced in favour of 50 B.C. as its lower limit.

We have stated above that the occurrence of the name of Puṣyamitra Śunga and references to his intolerant activities in the *Aśokasūtra* (*A-yū-wang-king*) and the *Aśokavadāna* (*A-yū-wang-chuan*) have led Przyluski to fix the upper limit of these works at 150 B.C., which marks also, according to him, the beginning of the period of the evolution of all Aśokan legends as incorporated in the aforesaid texts. As for the lower limit, that learned scholar has drawn our attention to two post-Parinirvāna sculptures on the gateways of the Main Stūpa at Sanchi, the themes of which, in his opinion, were derived from the *Aśokasūtra*, since the stories connected with them are to be found in that work,

wherein, in fact, they occur for the first time. He tells us further that those stories were repeated subsequently in other *Avadāna* texts, incorporating the cycle of Aśokan legends. The two themes in question are (1) Aśoka's visit to the Stūpa at Rāmagrāma containing the bone-relics of the Buddha and (2) Aśoka's visit to the Bodhi-tree. The identifications were made by Foucher⁵ and were accepted by Marshall.⁶ As for the date of those sculptures, while the former assigns them to the second century B.C.,⁷ the latter, on the basis of the palaeographical researches of R. P. Chanda,⁸ places them in the earlier part of the first century B.C., when, in his opinion, the gateways of the Main Stūpa were erected. The period suggested by Marshall for those sculptures has led Przyluski to accept 50 B.C. as the lower limit of the date of composition of the *Aśokasūtra*.

Before we proceed further, we would like to point out that, according to Foucher and Marshall, there are two scenes relating to the Rāmagrāma Stūpa, one of which is to be found on the southern gateway (middle architrave : front) and the other, on the eastern gateway (lowest architrave : back). We regret our inability to accept the identification of the second one (eastern gateway) as correct. In fact, it appears to us to be fantastic. As regards the first one, there can easily be two divergent views on the interpretation of the theme. According to one, in the twentieth year of his reign when Aśoka came to Lumbī to set up a pillar at the birth place of the Śākyamuni Buddha, he not only paid a visit to the Stūpa of the Buddha Kanakamuni (Konāgamana) as stated in his own inscription

5 *Le Stūpa de Sanchi*, p. 30.

6 *Monuments of Sanchi*, Vol. I.

7 *Op. cit.*, p. 12.

8 *Mem. Arch. Surv. Ind.*, No. 1.

(Nigālī Sāgar pillar), but very probably took the opportunity of his presence in that locality to worship the Stūpas at Kapilavāstu and Rāmagrāma. The four sanctuaries mentioned above are in the Nepalese Tarai and the northern parts of the Basti and Gorakhpur Districts adjoining it. According to the other view, the scene represents the attempt that was made by high government officials to open the Stūpa at Rāmagrāma for collecting the bone-relics of the Buddha, which they were expected to carry to Pāṭaliputra in procession, by an imperial order. But the opening of that snake-infested Stūpa for its precious contents completely baffled them. Being chased by the snakes from all sides, they had to run away for life. On this point, the information supplied by Buddhaghosa deserves careful consideration. Apparently basing his information on the long-lost *Sīhalatthakathā*, as he has invariably done, that learned scholiast tells us that Aśoka had sent his officers to open the Stūpa at Rāmagrāma for collecting the bone-relics of the Buddha, but that they failed to open it, because of the resistance offered by the snakes.⁹ Moreover, it is absurd to think that the emperor himself moved about from place to place to collect the bone-relics from the eight Stūpas where in they had been originally enshrined, some of which being situated at places far away from the imperial capital. The failure of the emperor led all pious believers in Buddhism to think that it was because of the unwillingness of the Nāga king to part with the sacred treasure that the attempt of the most powerful man on the earth proved abortive. It is this miracle that the scene in question tries to represent. As for the second scene, viz., Aśoka's visit to the Bodhi-tree at Uruvela (Uruvilva-grāma), the theme represented by it

⁹ Cf. *Sumaṅgalavilāsinī* on the *Mahāparinibbānasuttanta* of the *Dīghanikāya*.

was to the knowledge of every Buddhist monk and nun as an event of outstanding importance in the ecclesiastical history of Buddhism. The scene, in all probability, represents Aśoka's first visit to the Bodhi-tree, in the tenth year of his reign according to one of his edicts (R. E. X), or in the sixth year of his [second] coronation according to the reckoning of the Buddhist Church. According to the Ceylon chronicles, it was in that year that his conversion to Buddhism as a layman took place. What gave this event more prominence is that he had dedicated his vast empire several times to the Bodhi-tree, the sole representative of the Dhammarāja (Buddha), and thus virtually assumed the position of the Regent of that sacred tree. Obviously he had done it in course of his annual *dharma-yātrā* (pilgrimage) to that *sanctum sanctorum* of Buddhism.¹⁰ This important and interesting piece of information, supplied by the *Mahāvāṃsa*, has been attested to by another of equal importance preserved in the same work. It tells us that the wicked Tiṣyarakṣā, who was the last chief queen of Aśoka, grew impatient at her husband's paying regular visits to the Bodhi-tree and lavishly spending money for its worship and also at the bestowal of the costliest gifts upon it on these occasions. Being of perverted mentality, she began to compare in her mind how much her husband was spending on the Bodhi-

10 This fact is alleged to have been stated in Aśoka's second letter to King Devānampiya Tissa of Ceylon. It was carried by the seniormost of the eight Śākyan chiefs accompanying Saṅghamitṛā and carrying the Bodhi-tree to Ceylon. All of those eight Śākyas were the nearest relations of Devī, the Śākyan wife of Aśoka, the seniormost of them being the eldest of her co-uterine brothers. As we know from the *Mahābodhivansā*, they settled at Anurādhapura to take care of the Bodhi-tree. The descendants of those Śākyan chiefs are still to be found in Ceylon. The families (Śākyan) to which they belong, are known as *Bulankulame* which corresponds to Pali *Bodhāhārakula*, 'the family which brought the Bodhi-tree'.

tree and how much on her. Thus, torturing herself in her own mind, she became extremely jealous of that sacred tree and conspired with some officers, who were loyal to her, for its destruction. The Bodhi-tree undoubtedly showed signs of withering away because of the mischief done, but was resuscitated after some time through the mystic power of some members of the Saṅgha. When we search the Avadāna texts for the aforesaid information which is somewhat important from the ecclesiastical point of view, we notice a wide divergence of facts. The name Tiṣyarakṣā (Tissarakkhā) is evidently the same as Tiṣyarakṣitā as given in them; but Aśoka's gift of the kingdom was not for the Buddha through his representative, the Bodhi-tree, but for the Saṅgha, and Tiṣyarakṣitā's traditional wickedness has been sought to be proved in them by representing her as a notorious woman given to sensual pleasure, who, failing to get any response from her stepson for her illicit love, ultimately got him blinded in taking revenge. Credit, indeed, goes to him who conceived the story of the blind prince Kuṇāla, the successor of Aśoka, for the fertility of his imagination. Such fabricated stories in the Avadāna texts, as also in the *Kalpanāmaṇḍitikā*, only tend to show that the evolution of Aśokan legends, as delineated in them, took place at a period that is far remote from the time of the ruler, to which they relate. The difference between the two legends of cognizable identity, as in this case, suggests a long interval of time between the two—a literary phenomenon that has escaped Przyluski's notice.

We have examined the historical aspect of the two sculptures on the gateways of the Main Stūpa at Sanchi, to which Przyluski drew our attention, for fixing the lower limit of the date of composition of the *Aśokasūtra*, the earliest Avadāna type work on Aśoka. But the two

themes were so well-known and of such commonplace type that, to form an idea about them, a sculptor need not take the cue from the *Aśokasūtra*. In fact, there is no speciality about them, which would lead us to accept Przyluski's views. A highly significant fact that has been overlooked by that scholar is that, during the period in question as also both before and after it, the artist, either a sculptor or a painter, had to depend invariably on the guidance of some learned member of the Buddhist order, for representing a Buddhistic theme, because of his ignorance of Buddhology and Buddhist literature. And there was no dearth of such learned Buddhist monks and nuns who were competent enough to guide an artist, in all the important Buddhist establishments, like, for instance, the Vedisagiri-mahāvihāra of the Mauryan and the Śunga period at Sanchi, the ancient Cetiyagiri. They were not only proficient and well-versed (*bahuśruta*) in different sections of the *Tripiṭaka*, as arranged in the Third Buddhist Council, but were also well-acquainted with the ecclesiastical history of Buddhism from the birth of the Buddha down to the time of that great synod held at Pāṭaliputra. The Bhabru Edict of Aśoka is a positive evidence of the codified *Buddha-vacana* as also of some of its important sections. Again, epigraphic evidence of the period extending from 150 to 50 B.C. tends to show that, in such ancient Buddhist establishments as of Bharhut and Sanchi, there were learned Buddhist monks, each specializing in a *Piṭaka* (*Petakin*), the Five *Nikāyas* (*Pañcanekāyika*), or the *Suttantas* (*Suttantika*), and even nuns who were well-versed in the section mentioned last (*Suttantakī*). From the same source we learn further that the more experienced amongst the monks were in the rôle of *Dhammadhikas* (preachers) obviously in the interest of the Buddhist laity. Under such circumstances, the belief that has gained ground, and perhaps rightly too, that the sculptors not only derived the themes or art-motifs for which

the Bharhut and Sanchi monuments have become famous, but also the ideas and inspirations associated with them, from the learned members of the Buddhist fraternity. The scene relating to the Rāmagrāma Stūpa, depicted on the southern gateway of the Main Stūpa at Sanchi, was, in fact, suggested to the sculptor by the preacher Balamitra who was, in all probability, the donor of the Middle Architrave of that gateway, on which it has been portrayed. The sculptor's indebtedness to a preacher *Dhammadikā* has been clearly exemplified by the above. But, was it necessary for Bhikkhu Balamitra to take the help of the *Asokasūtra* for describing the story of the Rāmagrāma Stūpa to a sculptor? Was he not, in the capacity of a preacher, acquainted with the concluding verses of the *Mahāparinibbānasuttanta* of the *Dīghanikāya*, one of which specifically mentions that the Thūpa at Rāmagāma, 'is now being worshipped' by the Nāgarāja (king of the snakes)? It, therefore, speaks indirectly of emperor Aśoka's failure to open it for the bone-relics of Lord Buddha, and there can be no cogent reason to disbelieve it. Bhikkhu Balamitra, the preacher, considered it to be a miracle that is worthy of representation, and he had the theme graphically portrayed on the architrave donated by him. The concluding verses of the *Mahāparinibbānasuttanta* mentioned above appear to have been added, when the Third Buddhist Council was in session, like many verses of the *Theragāthā* and the *Petavatthu*.¹¹ In view of the different lines of evidence cited above, which have been sifted from the extant literature and inscriptions of the period extending from c. 150 to 50 B.C., it is difficult to think on Przyluski's lines that the two scenes representing Aśoka's visits to the Rāmagrāma Stūpa and the Bodhi-tree respectively were derived from the *Asokasūtra*. Moreover, in ancient India, an artist, whether a sculptor or a painter,

11 Cf *D. R. Bhandarkar Volume*, pp. 330ff.

had to depend entirely on some learned member of the Buddhist Order for the art-motifs of Buddhistic origin—a fact which Przyluski has overlooked.

With the discovery of the Turfan manuscripts of the *Kalpanāmaṇḍitikā* and the establishment of its identity with the *Sūtrālaṅkāra*, as stated above, our outlook of the evolution of the cycle of Aśokan legends in all its aspects and of its recording in Indian and Chinese texts has completely changed. The archaic character of the Aśokan legends as preserved in the *Kalpanāmaṇḍitikā* of Kumāralāta, which appears to have been composed sometime between 150 and 175 A.D., clearly suggests that it must have been the archetype of the *Aśokasūtra* or *Aśokarājāsūtra* which cannot possibly be earlier than the last quarter of the second century A.D., for the reason stated above.

Our fundamental difference of opinion with Przyluski is not merely in respect of the primary source of the Avadāna texts preserving the legends of Aśoka, but also of their respective origins, so far as it is possible to determine, with evidence. All of them record the same legends, but with greater or lesser detail. As to the Avadāna texts which preserve the aforesaid legends, their respective origins and mutual relations may be stated in the following manner :

1. <i>Kalpanāmaṇḍitikā</i> (Kumāralāta, c. 150-75 A.D.)	
2. <i>Aśokasūtra</i> or <i>Aśokarājāsūtra</i> (c. 175-200 A.D.)	
3. <i>Aśokāvadāna</i> or <i>Aśokarājāvadāna</i> (c. 200-50 A.D.)	
4. <i>Aśokāvadānamālā</i>	5. <i>Divyāvadāna</i> (c. 300-50 AD.)
6. <i>Saṃyukātgama</i>	
7. <i>Bodhisattvāvadānakalpalatā</i> (Kṣemendra, 11th century)	8. <i>Kuṇālāvadāna</i> ¹²

12 Nos 1, 2, 3, 6 and 8 were translated at different dates into

We may now describe the literary character of the aforesaid works in the light of textual evidence, as far as possible.

No. 1 appears to have been composed at Taxila by Kumaralāta, a resident of that city. It is a prose work in Sanskrit, interwoven with Sanskrit and Prakrit verses. Amongst the many parables which it contains, there are legends of Aśoka, which were developed later in different Avadāna texts mentioned above. It was translated into Chinese by Kumārajīva, but with a different name.

No. 2 is based on No. 1 ; but the Aśokan legends contained in it have been developed to some extent by its unknown author. He might have been a denizen of the Kukkuṭārāma monastery at Kauśāmbī, as suggested by Przyluski. It was composed in Sanskrit.

No. 3 is by far the most important work, preserving the cycle of Aśokan legends. Its fullest development is to be found in this long-lost Sanskrit work which appears to have been composed in the Naṭabhaṭṭika monastery at Mathurā. It may even be considered to be a sort of *Māhātmya* of that monastic establishment, as suggested by Sylvain Lévi.¹³

Nos. 4, 7 and 8 are metrical compositions and the rest are in prose.

Nos. 1, 5 and 6 have incorporated Aśokan legends, although they were written from different points of view.

The Sanskrit originals of Nos. 2, 3, 6 and 8 are no longer available. The rest are extant. All the works mentioned above were composed in Sanskrit, whether lost or existing.¹⁴

Chinese Their corresponding Chinese titles have been mentioned above. No. 3 was translated for the first time into Chinese by a Paithian Buddhist monk named Fa-k'in about 300 A.D. It was translated for the second time by another Buddhist scholar two centuries later.

13 *T'oung Pao*, 1907, p. 120

14 For Przyluski's opinion on the respective origins of the Avadāna texts preserving the Aśokan legends, see *op. cit.*, p. 105.

TRANSLATIONS

GENERAL CHARACTERISTICS OF THE ARCHITECTURE OF CAMPĀ

HENRI PARMENTIER

[Translated by D. R. Das and D. K. Biswas from 'Caractères Généraux de l'Architecture Chame' in the *Bulletin de l'Ecole Francaise d'Extreme Orient*, Tome I (1901), pp. 245ff.]

This rapid survey is meant for serving in some way as the preface to a group of monographs which we propose to publish in the *Bulletin de l'Ecole Francaise d'Extreme-Orient*.

A primary general survey of the monuments of Campā has been made through the good offices of MM. Finot and Lajonquiere and this has helped to prepare a summary list of the monuments and inscriptions of Campā. This inventory has been published in the first issue of the *Bulletin* of the School.¹ We are not concerned particularly to eulogise it here; but we may be permitted to state how valuable its service has been to us at the time when we ourselves have been engaged in preparing a descriptive list of the same monuments.

Before undertaking what would certainly be an extensive study, it would be interesting to give a rapid and specific coverage to some of the curious monuments of Campā. A preliminary study of that type is to appear in one of the forthcoming issues; we hope that researches on a place so captivating and engrossing will enable us to add from time to time new articles to the one that follows.

1 We have cited it in our notes under the initials *IS* (Inventaire Sommaire des Monuments Champs de l'Annam).

In these preliminary notes, we have considered it useful to trace prominently the bare outline of the Cham temple. In other respects, however, we have refrained from coming to conclusions which only a more profound study could reveal. Yet, we have, in fact, studied a sufficient number of such temples and do not believe that the latter will oblige us to modify appreciably the type with which our investigations have made us familiar. These preliminaries will not be altogether without their advantage as they would avoid tedious repetitions ; besides, it is desirable to point out in advance their general tendency towards certain dispositions which may seem too bizarre to western eyes ; for otherwise in the proposed series of monographs these might appear as little more than unintelligible anomalies. Here is then an obstacle which we have to overcome and it is wise also to avert some others. We must thus be excused for having used certain architectural terms sometimes in a sense that may be a bit special. This difficulty is inherent in the present study of an extinct art ; it becomes necessary to borrow words from other civilisations for its comprehension. We are forced to explain its very definite and special features by corresponding expressions culled from existing art-dictionaries, which are, however, clearly different in nature. One would thus come across, right and left, designations corresponding to these basic features or nearly identical ones or sometimes merely carrying a vague resemblance to them—in short a medley of expressions incoherent at first sight and totally insufficient. It has not been possible to overcome the first difficulty : the second we have tried at least to meet—by supporting each new term with a rough sketch carefully selected out of the most general type. It is, however, to be kept in mind that a term, thus defined, throughout upholds rigorously the precise sense assigned to it by the sketch and it loses in the context its proper meaning given in the art-lexicon from which it may have been borrowed.

We start, therefore, with the broad outlines of a Cham temple from the different elements of which we have arrived at the generalities. These are subject to confirmation by the precise information furnished by each new monograph.

The monuments of Campā have not the importance of the neighbouring Khmer monuments that are very clearly demarcated from the former by the rugged mountain range of Annam. They possess neither the dignity and abundance of the temples of South India, nor the artistic finish of the constructions of Java. They may be generally described as edifices that are products of an art sufficiently feeble and of mediocre dimensions.

A Cham temple always faces the east. The religious centre of the composition, the nucleus of which sometimes subdues the entire monument, is either a solitary tower or a cluster of towers very close to one another and arranged in a line from north to south. At times these towers are accompanied by an oblong edifice consisting of two halls with the main door to the east and accessory doors to the north and to the south. Very often these are preceded by a big hall with three naves with openings in the east and the west. Sometimes these towers are found to resemble to some extent the towers of the sanctuary and form an entrance or a group of sign-posts on the way to the principal structure. An enclosure, almost always in ruins, surrounds the whole mass of buildings or at least the principal parts of the temple.

Alone or accompanied by these annexures the principal sanctuary is frequently raised on a hillock of small height that commands a view of the neighbouring sanctuaries. In such cases, the latter are distributed according to the condition of the terrain either on a common level or on different planes, earthworks steadyng the ground-level and steep stairs or slopes providing communication. Structures are rarely ever raised on the plains when a small

elevation, conveniently oriented, is available in the neighbourhood.

The typical sanctuary, with some minor exceptions, consists of a square tower furnished with a door that precedes a vestibule, while three false doors occupy and decorate the side walls. On the ground often appears a primary basement; on it or on the earth-surface rises a continuous pedestal with symmetrical mouldings relieved by small rectangular pillars with pointed arches—a sort of small solid niches—a special feature of Cham art (fig. 6).

Hereafter rise the plain façades decorated with great vertical bands of pilasters without base or capital. Both at the bottom and the top, the arrises of the latter determine the angle of the respective profiles of the basement as well as of the architrave, frieze and cornice. On each façade, these are five in number, the fifth one being largely hidden behind the main and false doors. The empty space that they leave on the side-walls is decorated by frameworks of projected mouldings.

On the top is to be seen an entablature which is an exact but upturned copy of the pedestal. This double use of the profile is repeated in all the monuments; we come across it once more with regard to the basement and entablature of the false doors and niches and also in the case of the entablature of the different storeys. Moreover, the same motif, expressed all around the main structure, is observed to have been worked out with some minor variations on all the other monuments. Should we find in the continuous repetition of the same motif the evidence of artistic weakness? Or does it show rather a hieratic respect towards a form which can be regarded as consecrated? It is difficult for us to arrive at any definite decision on the point now. Without trying in any way to prejudge the issue of the origin of Cham art, we can only point out that a similar course of continuous

repetition is to be noticed also in the monuments of Khmer, although it is applied there in the case of a profile of another type and with a lesser degree of rigour.

This entablature with slight variation ends at the top in an extensive façade ornamented with angles of salient decorations. This large façade is a section firmly set between the main body of the structure and the parts above. This is, however, not necessarily a crude and arbitrary division. The composition of storeys in a Cham monument is often very skilful; it recalls the mode of fixing the different shoots of the main stem of a horse-tail; in other words, each storey terminates with a flat surface that rises again in four angles with four different motifs; these enclose a space containing a new structure resembling the principal one, but reduced in dimension and, very perceptibly, in height, four pilasters on each face and an entablature complete the process of repetition of the elements below, while four false niches, which are supposed to be the subdued renderings of the doors and false-doors, recall the bareness of the walls below (fig. 1). The process adopted for uniting the storeys is a remarkably happy one; and before studying the component parts separately from one another, a task which has been quite easy, we have devoted some time to these towers. On the whole, it can be said that such a method of composition leaves no scope for the arrangement of the component parts in gradually diminishing stages towards the end. Designed in this fashion the four storeys merely rise successively over the main body of the temple. The last one upholds the crowning finial, which is generally a stone-slab with four faces fashioned almost exactly like a curvilinear shell.²

2 Some of these temple-crowns are to be found now among the debris of ruined monuments. Only one is known to be still in tact in the case of a comparatively recent temple belonging to an inferior

The four pointed turrets recall, by their rôle and position, the square or octagonal motifs of the Gothic spires. The latter are often known under the name pinnacle. This parallelism of functions has induced us to adopt the term as the designation of the said decorations of a Cham temple. These are small edifices repeating the main tower in every respect.

The description will be nearly complete if we add that the doors and the false doors of the lower storey are slender projected structures placed against the walls of the tower and proportionately stretched in height. The majority of them resemble to some extent the vertical projection of a small tower on the principal one. The various bodies, of which these are formed, represent in profile their entablature at the successive levels and the latter in general give rise in their turn to new structures with entablatures, flat pinnacles and ornamental summits. The latter acquire proportionately reduced dimensions as each superimposes itself on the projecting one.

The three or four storeys above constitute an independent form having no bearing on the interior construction of the structure whose corbelled vault shelters with its long pyramidal mould the sanctuary itself. The latter is a square hall with bare sidewalls; the ground is on a level with the dado-rail of the lower basement or, in case it is absent, with the outer compound; in its centre there is a pedestal on which rests, within a cistern of ablution,⁸ the representation of the divinity.

art. This temple of Po-Klong-Garai near Phanrang is valuable because of its excellent state of preservation.

3 See BEFEO, No 2, p 161 We should note that this opening, which is sought sometimes to be regarded as the representation of the *yoni*, is found here under human figures of male or female deities as often as under the *liṅga*. The latter is represented in one instance as placed on a column set inside the basin (at Bang-an).

This cistern in the flag-stone has been scooped out for preserving holy water for besprinkling, and is furnished with an elongated snout invariably facing the north, that carries the water to the temple ground. It passes afterwards through a hole pierced at the centre of the northern wall.

The sanctuary generally contains, at the level of the basin, a number of small niches. They are placed in the middle of each side-wall and were probably meant for holding lamps. This is, moreover, the only source of illumination that the sanctuary had ; for the streak of daylight that it could receive came through a narrow door opening at the far end of a long vestibule ; besides being itself extremely feeble, this light was again generally shielded, for the doors of the sanctuary appear always to have possessed solid leaves.⁴

We have no other indisputable data at our disposal regarding the interior arrangements of these sanctuaries.

The outstretched edifices of which we have spoken, contain decorations resembling to some extent those of the towers of worship ; their general disposition consists of a double storey covered by a vault which is elevated in its two ends. The upper storey withdraws itself in proportion to the lower on the side walls. The halls communicate with one another internally ; these are covered by a corbelled vault and are without any particular details.

The lofty hall, that sometimes precedes the sanctuary, is oriented in the east-west direction ; it has one central nave and two peripheral ones. It is, truly speaking, no more than a simple covered space, because it has no walls. These constructions are invariably covered by a light roof that rests on the intermediate wooden framework on the pillars of the three naves of unequal heights.

4 None of these doors has survived ; but the holes, in which the pivotal axis used to turn, show that these were of enormous thickness and were throughout positively solid.

Finally, a regular wall seems to have formed the enclosure.

All these constructions appear to have conformed to a standard of proportion, regular and at the same time simple, based on the square and on arithmetical division on the sides. We deem it proper to refer to the method here as, in our opinion, it has played a very important rôle in the composition and execution of the monuments of Campā. Meanwhile, we may be excused for not going into the details of the subject : for a large number of studies and measurements will be necessary before complete light can be thrown on the subject, and in order to be fruitful, these measurements require to be prolonged and methodical.

It is not easy, after so many centuries, to render a full and correct account of the respective rôles played by the different parts of these monuments. However, the description of the actual religious ceremonies of Campā, given by M. Aymonier, informs us that these require the use of at least three chambers, viz., the sanctuary, something like a closed sacristy and a banquet-hall.⁵ Probably it would be necessary to recognise in the small compartment the sacristy and in the large hall the banquet-room.

As regards the deities that were worshipped in these temples, they are Brahmanical divinities practically uninfluenced by local superstitions, and among them particularly Śiva and his Śakti.⁶

5 Aymonier, *Les Tchames et leurs religions*, Paris, 1894, pp. 46 ff.

6 See BEFEO, No. 1, article of M. Finot on 'La religion des Chames d'après leurs monuments'. Fresh sculptures, as a more detailed study of the same regions has enabled us to discover, relate mostly to Śiva and Umā. Only on one point, viz. the discovery of three new Ganeśa figures, two of them in the same sanctuary, and that of a large number of *mukhalingas*. We should also draw attention to the discovery of a

Regarding materials, the characteristic of these monuments is the almost exclusive use of brick. This is the basic element of Cham construction just as it probably was the earliest material employed by the Hindus and the Khmers. Monuments, appearing to have been built entirely in stone, are quite rare; we have traced only one or two of this class.⁷ In the cases of those that combine the two elements, the cube of brick is not to be compared with the quantity of stone employed. Generally, the foundation, wall-facings and fillings are all in brick. These bricks are of big size, longer and thicker than those we ordinarily use. They are grouted to invisible joints on the faces of the walls; probably these can be supposed to have been placed one upon another in the manner of dressing the layers of a clay structure. The adherence of the bricks on the face of the wall with each other points to this union being achieved by means of a fine and very sticky mortar, coloured red by brick powder. Properly speaking, it was rather a kind of paste than mortar.⁸ Internally the same bricks constitute the entire thickness of the masonry-works; these are there joined to each other in the ordinary manner by means of mortar. No care was taken to link the bricks properly with one another; it is a case of simple superimposition and piling up of materials, which in the ruined sections often show a vertical joint containing in the same level the top of a hundred bricks.

number of cisterns of ablution as well as of circular pedestals, corresponding probably to basins of the same form, at Garden of Turane (provenance Tra-Kien), Hung-thanh, Tour d'Or, Thu-thien and Ha-trung

7 The Cha-bang monuments, fragments of which lie scattered within the citadel of Bin-dinh, Ha-trung.

8 Among Annamites there still exists a process that partly explains its type (Voi-mat or Sweet lime, etc.).

The profiles are hewn out of the exterior wall face ; although the point has already given rise to numerous discussions and sometimes to fantastic hypotheses, it is indeed easy to render an account of it with exactitude. In fact, the horizontal joints have proceeded to cross the profiles indifferently ; for a brick scooped out by a cyma or hollow moulding, there remains only a strip of three or four millimetres of thickness or even less. It is evident that such bricks could neither be moulded apart, for they are cut in profile at the dressing, nor set up raised, but only half-raised. It is little less than surprising that this soft material which could be easily squashed or deformed before an external fire, was able to give it sufficient firmness. Besides, it is very much possible that the brick had acquired an increasing firmness with time and its fashioning must have been an infinitely more facile process in the beginning far removed from our own times.

All the more reason, therefore, that the bricks constituting the sculptures must have been set in the proper place. At the most, it can be said that the mounter should have created a vague massive form through a rough *épannelage*.

The bricks are of remarkable execution. They are of a very regular shape and of a uniform and constant colour which is glowing red. At impact, they emit a clear ring and a distinct crack and present in the interior a regular texture and a dressing similar on all sides. The burnt brick furnishes, likewise, the material for the crowning acroteriums that proceed to thrust themselves inside a kind of mortise which is afterwards sunk into the bricks on the lateral faces containing pediments of the doors and niches. These constituent units are of an extreme durability ; the clay used is more compact and much smoother than that of the more solid earthenwares.

Stone was used to build all those parts which it would have been impossible to construct in brick, like the enormous

lintels surmounting the door-halls or the lofty projecting acroteriums. Stone also went to make the cells which would not have been sufficiently effective in lighter material (e.g. sculptural tympanums⁹ and those much exposed parts like the pinnacle decorations). The large stone-sculptures were certainly fashioned in the neighbourhood [of the temple] and were lifted up gradually as the work of construction proceeded. In fact, these are here held by long stems of stone extending behind their lower part (fig. 2).¹⁰ The piece had to be laid in its place in a finished form as the work of construction reached its level ; afterwards the masonry-work was continued on the stem; at its back and on both sides. Had the stone been raised undressed, the process of carving would later have been extremely difficult, because some of the tympanums are found to be relatively slender. In certain cases, it would have been well nigh impossible (e.g. the acroterium of angles, fig. 5). It would be, therefore, much more reasonable to infer that the pieces were sculptured in the entire block and next the block was reduced in bulk at the back in producing the stem. Besides, we cannot remember to have seen an entire block of stone in the *épannelage*. An exception is to be made in the case of the rejoined stone basement.¹¹

9 See BEFEO, No 1, fig 5.

10 Fig 2—after a sketch by the author. This figure comes from the sanctuary of Nham-bien (I.S. 225) now completely destroyed. It is not on the spot as the ruins and a group of sculptures have been assembled by the Annamites. It was discovered in course of the excavations carried out on the spot by M C. Paris, transported to the fort of Quang-tri and left at the local Post Office from which it has been re-discovered. Material—fine sandstone ; height 56 cm, length 86 cm.

11 The towers of Van-trong contain false doors of entire blocks of stone. This is, however, altogether a special case. It is an all-stone construction like its basements and the stone-blocks do not leave behind any remains.

We shall now proceed to describe an interesting detail of construction which consists of the interposition in the angle of the profiles of the entablature, of a diagonally placed stone-slab sharing both the faces of the general profile. As a result of this precaution, many of the edifices have succeeded in preserving the distinct angle of their cornice.

If the material, brick or stone, is generally of excellent quality, its execution leaves something to be desired. We have already referred to the defective method of piling bricks in the body of the walls. This negligence is in evidence everywhere in the edifice. Two sides are never elevated in the same manner ; the square halls are trapezoidal ; the same elements meant to be prominent, do not attain prominence ; the profiles do not march regularly one after another, but obstruct each other or are disproportionately reduced in thickness in places ; all the negligence in matters of detail, that have disappeared in the state of ruin in which the temples now are, must have given offence to the eye when these had been new. These imperfections possibly indicate a premature or blundering and unskilful execution. Perhaps we have to recognise in them the vices inherent in the execution by inferior workmen of projects designed by superior architects. This is, however, a hypothesis full of possibilities. Deeper studies may later enable us to pronounce a more precise opinion on the point.

The method of Cham construction is characterised by the use of the corbelled vault or, in other words, of a vault with horizontal joints, its section generally constituting a sharp angle. The overhanging is obtained by successive steps of, at the most, five or six well-set bricks, the number being frequently less.

As regards decoration, two principles—two special elements and a particular type of ornamentation, are found to determine the general aspect of these monuments. One

of the principles governs the construction of the profiles ; it consists of the uniform application of a vertical symmetry. Each combination of profile in a Cham monument consists of an assemblage of the main mouldings that are repeated in identical manner, but inversely, above and below a horizontal axis running through the centre of the motif (fig. 3).¹²

A profile looks unsymmetrical when its corresponding one rises to a disproportionate height ; thus, for example, the respective profiles of the basement and entablature (see and compare figs. 5 and 6).

The other principle intends each component part to retain its proper importance in the entire composition ; the base and the entablature of the regular model, as also its main body, must have a height proportionate to their importance, so that the different profiles might gradually overlap one another. Should this principle be observed, the Cham architect would have little anxiety in other respects regarding the somewhat grotesque style with which the profiles seek to impress the on-looker (fig. 4).¹³

The form approaches that of the pointed arch with this difference that the latter, so far as we are familiar with it in Western or Saracenic art, determines the span of an opening, while here inspite of the ease with which the

12 Fig 3—after restoration by the author. The northern tower of Hung-thanh (I.S. 42) has preserved only a small portion of this basement which is of sandstone. The moulded and sculptured portion measures 1m 28 cm. It is to be noted that the stone-sculpture below is six centimeters more in extent than that above. The frequency of this difference of proportion in the symmetrical mouldings in favour of the base, leads to believe that it is intentional ; in that case, it may possibly be regarded as expressing a desire to give a greater appearance of stability to the motif.

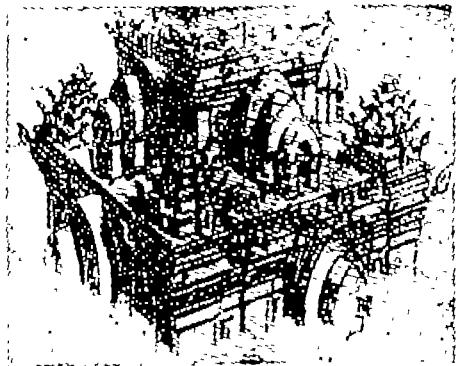
13 Fig 4—after a sketch by the author. False niche of the first storey of the central tower of Po-Nagar of Nha-trang (I.S. 31) ; brick-made, elevation of the hinder body of the top of the plinth above the impost ; circumference 1m 60 cm.

corbelled vault lends itself to this arrangement, it is never found to determine the outline of an entire part of the structure. Further its pattern is a little different in the context, resembling rather the vertical section of a folded Persian cupola than an ordinary arch (fig. 4).

The two elements are the ones we have called the acroterium and the stone-work containing the ogive. The former is a decoration typical of the art of Campā. At all possible angles, large slabs of stone, cut out in proportion to profiles often very boldly executed, stand out conspicuously either against the sky or against the upper levels of the construction on which difference of material enables them to set themselves up vigorously (fig. 5);¹⁴ like the angled acroteriums of the Greek fronton, these appear to have been set up chiefly to reveal an outline. The body of functions has made us choose the particular designation for them. The stone-slab thus cut out is occasionally substituted by a female figure (fig. 2). We have retained for the latter motif, occurring very frequently in Cham art, the same name in an extended sense.

All these are found invariably to be occupied by two supporting pieces curved in brick that represent pretty clearly two wings. Their presence near the decorative acroteriums, which can by no means be explained, may possibly imply the relative priority of the acroteriums shaped as female figures. This supposition would at least provide some justification for their presence in this context. This motif was probably abandoned later in favour of the angled points because of its lack of decorative accent.

14 Fig. 5—according to a photograph taken by the author. Original fragment of the completely ruined sanctuary of Phong-le (I.S. 216 bis) restored in the original site. Fine sandstone; height about 95 cm. Two other similar acroteriums of the same origin, have been removed, since we had seen them at Phong-le, to the museum of the Society of Indo-Chinese Studies at Saigon.



1



3



2

1—Storey of a Cham Tower 2—Acroterium with Tenon 3—Example
of Opposite Symmetry in the Profile

Plate V



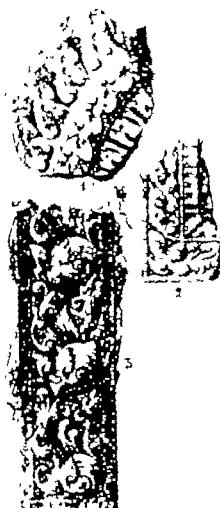
4



5



6



7

4 Example of the Modifications of the Importance and Level of the same Profile following the Importance of the Elements it decorates
5 Acroterium 6 The Pile with Ogive 7. Fragments of Cham Sculptures (1) Archivolt of the False-door, (2-3) Door-frames

However, between the two types, a third might have served as an intermediary. Some of the edifices, in fact, contain, in the interior angles, heads of *makara* treated in profile in place of female figures.¹⁵ The figure of these monsters, which are rarer, might have occasionally replaced those of the *apsarās* and produced the idea of the purely decorative acroterium that displays its outline very closely.

The stone-work bearing the ogive is composed of one or many parts, furnished with plinths and supporting one or many pointed frontons (fig. 6).¹⁶ We have adopted, for want of anything better, this descriptive designation for it. Possibly their origin is to be found in a similar motif playing the same rôle, that encloses, between two small pilasters, a figure standing in adoration ; this particular treatment is to be noticed only in those towers that look very ancient (e.g. Khuong-my, etc.). But their primitive origin—an origin which appears moreover to be the same as that of the false doors of the main structure as well as of the false niches of the different storeys—is possibly even more remote. The rare among the group of monuments like Bang-an, Hung-thanh and possibly also one of the edifices of Nhatrang, that stand today as isolated types, may be examples of the early existence of a simple structural form now extinct. This primitive type of which the aforesaid constructions were only remote replicas or subsequent productions might have been imported from an outside region ; it probably developed according to a principle analogous to the system of repetition noticed in Hindu art. From this type later arose

15 Copper tower—ruins of the monument at Thap-Thap.

16 After restoration by the author. This piece of masonry is the only one that has survived almost entirely in the tower of Binh-lam (LS. 54) ; it is wholly in brick and measures 1m 75 cm in height. The nine upper rows of bricks have fallen away and the termination of the two motifs of the fronton is accordingly hypothetical.

the general form underlying all the decorative units of the standard Cham monument, viz. doors, false doors, false niches, the masonry of the ogive and even the outline of the pointed turret. It is, however, also possible that the said type belonged to the soil of Campā ; the Hindu or Javanese influence in that case would amount to nothing more than the method of composition that it adopted in course of its application to a new cult. If this hypothesis is admitted, it becomes easier to understand why in the cases of Cham, Khmer, Javanese and Hindu monuments, parallelisms are occasionally noticed in matters of detail while the general structures have often no mutual resemblance at all.

Be that as it may, for the sake of clarity, it behoves us, before proceeding further, to determine the exact imports of the expressions 'false door' and 'false niche' in the context. Is the 'false door' a very important niche in the body of the structure ? Is it the copy of a door ? The latter idea appears to be more probable ; if the base of the central niche is found to be adorned more frequently by a brick statue, the proportions of the niche do not correspond to those of the statue which the former screens. Somewhere, on the contrary, it is the door-leaves that are distinctly revealed by the decorations (e.g. at Hoa-lai, 'Khuong-my). Finally, it should be noted that in the cases of similar constructions of Khmer art, the part of the false door is invariably and unreservedly shown. We shall, therefore, retain the expression 'false door' to indicate these component parts. As to 'false niches' (see fig. 4), the presence of sculptured figures enclosed between two pilasters of the main body of the motif,¹⁷ on some towers (e.g. Binh-lam',

¹⁷ We are not referring here to the figures that decorate a very large number of their frontons and do not deserve the designation 'false niches'.

has induced us to attribute the particular name to them ; although it is not otherwise justified, we may be permitted the use of the name if only to distinguish them from the false doors.

As for ornamentation, it consists of the use of a species of arabesques of a very peculiar character ; it assumes frequently the manuscript form of the small letter *l*. The only sketch available here (fig. 7)¹⁸ would enable us to form an idea of it ; it is a process of decoration which is very peculiar, often very happily executed and of a large variety.

In conclusion, it is to be observed, that the process becomes complete with the introduction of motifs that are less original, viz., the frequent use, in the first place, of the lotus and afterwards of some figures of monsters and animals, these being among the most useful auxiliaries of the decoration characterising Cham monuments. The figure of Garuḍa is to be noticed sometimes carrying Viṣṇu on its head (e.g. at Hund-thanh) or clasping serpents in its talons (e.g. at Van-tuong). It tends frequently to deviate from the bird-norm and approaches curiously enough the type of a winged lion with a human figure. Sometimes its face is found to serve as the key-stone of the fronton ; from its mouth serpents are seen coming out and, on some

18 Fig. 7—sketch after photographs taken by the author. These diverse pieces come from a series of fragments that he scattered or re-employed in the Binh-dinh from where we have recovered them. They appear to have originated from the neighbouring citadel of Cha-bang (I.S. 55) and probably formed part of one or more structures exclusively or largely of stone. Fragment 3 recalls some Javanese decorations. It is one of the most beautiful specimens of this particular class of ornamentation possessing a rhythm and a fulness, unfortunately only rarely achieved by the sculptors of Campā sandstone and hard and pure limestone. Measurements : 1, from A to B 37 cm in the original ; 2, from C to D original width 10 cm ; from original width 24 cm.

occasions, these are replaced by scroll-patterns (Silver Tower). The same grimacing face is often placed inside a sort of frieze (at Chien-dang). Its execution in high relief is rarer; we have no knowledge of any instance of its independent representation.

The other monster that seems to be a close favourite of the Cham sculptors, along with Garuda, is that extremely composite mythical animal *makara*. Its head is that of a crocodile, the upper jaws of which bend back in the shape of an elephant's trunk, the body recalling that of a lion. This type has an astonishing consistency in comparison to the different forms of Garuda. It is found at the base of the frontons (e.g. at Binh-lam), in the acroteriums of the angles of the cornices (e.g. at the Copper Tower) and in the frame-work of the staircase (e.g. at Khuong-my). A human figure or a bull (Nandin) is often seen coming out of its mouth. Completely detached *makara* figures are also frequently to be seen; but nothing indicates the exact place occupied by such figures in the temple. It is possible that these played the same rôle as the lions of Khmer art, with which they bear a strange resemblance.

Nāga figures with three, seven or nine heads had no more than mediocre importance in the decoration of the Cham temples. These served mainly as foundations of certain figures of the tympanum. On rare occasions, however, they also assume the rôle of the border of the fronton as in the Khmer monuments (e.g. Van-Tuong, Khuong-my, where they form the waved border of one face of the gate-way by means of a series of heads in relief). But the beautiful motif of fan-shaped Nāga heads constituting the topmost points of the Khmer balustrades is nowhere to be found in Cham art.

Some animal-figures occur frequently in half-relief; the passing elephant and a large bird often appear as motifs

on the metopes;¹⁹ figures of stags and monkeys and sometimes those of monkeys wrestling with birds are found in bas-relief in the frieze. Human figures also intervene in the series; they are sometimes mixed up with the animals and monsters and are seen fighting with them furiously (e.g. at Hung-thanh and Chien-dang). Sometimes figures of galloping horsemen shooting arrows backward are found on the metope. Unfortunately, however, human figures are always thrown in quite accessorialy and it is only on very few occasions that the work of the Cham artist throws any light on the life of the people or on the times when the sculptures originally decorated the temple.

We shall, however, take note of the fact that it is the human figure, or rather the divine, that is really wanted in the majority of the decorations of the tympanums; besides, in the class of human figures must also be included the images of the terrible guardians of the temple that one generally comes across as standing independently. The analogy of their rôle in neighbouring Khmer art may possibly indicate their position in the temples of Campā. Besides, there exists one example that may enable us to understand their rôle, viz., that of Dong-doung where two admirable figures of the gurdians of the temple are found to adhere to the niches at the entry of the sanctuary.

This brings to a close the general information regarding Cham architecture that we are for the present able to furnish. The excavations we are going to undertake on the respective sites of some of the monuments on a wider and fuller scale, would probably give us some day an opportunity to state precisely some of the notions which we are forced actually to leave vague so that they may not communicate premature affirmations.

19. We have used the term to indicate the sculptures appearing in the centre of a panel of bricks belonging to the upper storeys or in a cornice.

THE INDO-PARTHIAN DYNASTY—

NEW CONSIDERATIONS AND HYPOTHESES

ALBERTO SIMONETTA

[Translated by C. Valdettaro from the original Italian in *Numismatika*, XIX-XX, 1953-54.]

The sources on which we should rely for the reconstruction of the history of the most easterly provinces of the Hellenistic world are so fragmentary and obscure that any attempt at reconstruction becomes extremely difficult. In the present state of our knowledge, if one excludes the events related to the formation of the kingdom of Bactriana, i.e. preceding Demetrius' campaigns in India towards 180 B. C.,¹ one may really state, for the interpretation of each extant document: *quot capita, tot sententiae* (as many opinions as heads). Even the great synthesis which Tarn has tried to make out in his recent work entitled *The Greeks in Bactria and India* has received the comments, in the light of new data, of various authors (Whitehead, Jenkins and Bivar) on matters of great importance; and in fact their objections are, for the major part, well founded.

The principal reason for such uncertainties must be found in the fact that it has been impossible, till now, to build up a sequence of ascertained facts in clear reciprocal relation, and, at least partly, exactly datable.

The best sequence an archaeologist can use is, without doubt, a list of kings, including all rulers of a dynasty, when knowing exactly the relations of the succession of various

1 We are not dealing here with the vexed question of the existence of a second Demetrius

sovereigns one knows the exact dates for at least some of them.

It appears therefore of fundamental importance, for future studies, to explore the possibility of fixing in a precise way the chronology of one of the Greek or barbarian dynasties which ruled in North-Western India and Afghanistan. Today, thanks to new dated coins, it is possible to establish in a precise way the succession order of all the Indo-Parthian kings and to date at least three of them precisely. In fact, while they allow us to establish some exact reference-points for the chronology, the new coins bearing dates shed fresh light also on the inter-relations between the various members of the dynasty.

The entire Indo-Parthian coinage can be divided into the following groups :

1. *Coins of strictly Parthian type* (drachms and bronzes). They usually bear on the Obv. the portrait of the ruler, and this is turned to left according to the Parthian habit. The legend is in Greek and there appears the name of only one king ; sometimes there are, on the Obv., the initials of the king in Pahlavi characters. This group includes coins of the following rulers : Arsaces Theos, Orthagnes, Gondophares, Abdagases, Pakores and Sanabares.
2. *Saka type coins.* This group can be subdivided as follows :
 - (a) Tetradrachms, drachms and bronzes with the name of king Vonones in Greek, on the Obv., the Prakrit, inscription on the Rev. mentioning one of his vassals. While the silver coins bear on the Obv. the figure of the king on horse, the bronzes do not bear the king's effigy in accordance with the Indo-Greek tradition.

- (b) Bronzes bearing on the Obv. the ruler on horse-back and on the Rev. Heracles sitting (the square shape of these coins appears to exclude the possibility of their being equivalent to the silver coinage ; it is therefore an issue which diverges from the traditional types). On the Obv. there appears, in Greek, the name of Spalyris bearing the title of 'King's Brother' : on the Rev., in Prakrit, the name of Špalagadama without any particular title.
- (c) Coins reproducing Šaka types : they are usually tetradrachms of mixed metals or even of bronze, a certain number of which may have been plated. These coins are extremely similar to those of Azes II ; they can be distinguished from the ones of the two previous sub-groups for their Rev. types. Of the latter, the most important are two :
 - i. male figure standing, looking to right, diademed and wearing himation ; he is resting on a long sceptre and raises the right hand in an auspicious gesture ;
 - ii. standing male figure, looking to the left, diademed and wearing himation ; in his outstretched right hand, he holds Nice, the latter having a crown in her right hand and a palm leaf in her left.²

2 Both these figures have been generally identified with Zeus. Anyhow, I think that we may, on the contrary, be dealing with the image of the ruler ; my reasons are :

- (a) these persons lack, in general, of the attributes of Zeus or of other divinities (sceptre and diadem are generally symbols of sovereignty) ;
- (b) an exactly similar figure appears on the Obv. of some of Maues' coins, and in this place, as we are dealing with tetradrachms, one would expect to find the image of the ruler ;

Other types bear Pallas, Poseidon-Siva and the 'Gondophares' symbol. This sub-group includes coins of Gondophares, Gondophares with Aspavarma, Gondophares with Sasan, Sasan alone, and Abdagases.

Coins of sub-groups (a) and (b), all traceable [directly or indirectly] to Vonones, come from the districts of the ancient territory of Arachosia, while those of sub-group (c), all connected with Gondophares, come mainly from Gandhāra and the Indus valley.

3. *Bronzes*—with bust of king on Obv. and legend in Greek and Nice to right and Prakrit inscription on Rev.; the latter mentions often the names of one or more associates to the throne. Of this type, we know coins of Orthagnes with Gondophares and Gadana, of Gondophares and Gadana, of Gondophares alone, of Abdagases, of Pakores, of two rulers whose names are not known and whose coins are, still unpublished, lying in the British Museum and will form the subject of a following study, and also a coin of Sanabares with Greek inscription also on the Rev. Coins of this type come mainly from the districts of old Arachosia.

If we now take into consideration the coins with legends bearing the names of more than one ruler, without looking—for the time being—at the translation of the legend, we find :

A. Coins in the names of Vonones and Spalahora;

otherwise, the ruler's image would be missing on these coins and this would represent an important exception to the general rule of the Indo-Greek silver coinage; the same can be said about a well-known type of Azes' drachms;

- (c) the ruler's image appears, fairly frequently, on both the sides of the coins of the Indo-Greeks (and of other peoples as, for example, the Parthians);
- (d) on Saka coins, such a figure appears sometimes with a beard and sometimes without it; not only that; in some cases it bears, without doubt, a radiate crown; such variations would be difficult to explain if the person was a divinity.

- B. Coins in the names of Vonones, Špalahora and Špalagadama ;
- C. Coins with the names of Spalyris, Špalahora and Špalagadama (we shall see later if Spalyris and Špalahora were two different spellings of the same name or not) ;
- D. Coins in the names of Orthagnes, of Gondophares, and of Gadana ;
- E. Coins in the names of Gondophares and Gadana ;
- F. Coins in the names of Gondophares and Abdagases ;
- G. Coins in the names of Gondophares and Sasan ;
- H. Coins in the names of Gondophares and Aśpavarma.

We can therefore easily group the legends in two lots :

- (1) one including types A, B and C, in which there appears the name of Špalahora ; and
- (2) another including types D, E, F, G and H, in which Gondophares is mentioned.

We then proceed to examine the two groups separately, starting from the one which mentions Špalahora.

Inscriptions on the coins of this group sound, when translated, as follows :

- I. Obv. (in Greek) = Of the king of kings, Vonones the great.
Rev. (Prakrit) = Of Špalahora, legitimate brother of the king.
- II. Obv. (in Greek) = Of the king of kings, Vonones the great.
Rev. (in Prakrit) = Of the son of Špalahora, Špalagadama the just.
- III. Obv. (in Greek) = Of Spalyris, legitimate brother of the king.
Rev. (in Prakrit) = Of the son of Špalahora, Špalagadama the just.

Perusal of the legends makes it clear first of all that, in the Prakrit inscriptions of Špalagadama, the name Špalahora appears only as that of the father of Špalagadama and not as a ruler. I will revert later on to the significance of the fact.

As the majority of the authors have considered that *Spalyris* was nothing but the Greek transliteration of Špalahora and that, therefore, Spalyris and Špalahora were the same person, let us first examine this possibility. Let us suppose that really Spalyris and Špalahora were one and the same person. The fact that he bears always only the title of "Legitimate Brother of the King" (a title known in the Hellenistic world and used, for example, by Spalirises to qualify himself as Vice-king), allows us to exclude, the possibility that he may have ever become a completely independant ruler. Having fixed this point, the problem arises if he was always a subordinate of Vonones or if he changed his sovereign. This problem and the other relating to the eventual identity of Spalyris and Špalahora are clarified when one takes into account all the possible orders of succession of the three rulers under consideration. In fact, supposing that Spalyris and Špalahora are one and the same person, the three could have followed each other only in one of the following orders :

- A. Spalyris (= Špalahora) with Špalagadama ;
Vonones with Spalyris (= Špalahora) ;
Vonones with Špalagadama.
- B. Vonones with Spalyris (= Špalahora) :
Spalyris (= Špalahora) with Špalagadama ;
Vonones with Špalagadama.
- C. Spalyris (= Špalahora) with Špalagadama ;
Vonones with Špalagadama ;
Vonones with Spalyris (= Špalahora).

- D. Vonones with Spalyris (= Špalahora) ;
Vonones with Špalagadama ;
Spalyris (= Špalahora) with Špalagadama.
- E. Vonones with Špalagadama ;
Vonones with Spalyris (= Špalahora) ;
Spalyris (= Špalahora) with Špalagadama ;
- F. Vonones with Špalagadama ;
Spalyris (= Špalahora) with Špalagadama ;
Vonones with Spalyris (= Špalahora).

Let us see if some of the alternatives may be satisfactory.

Case A is absurd : in fact, Špalagadama would disappear all of a sudden and no explanation could be given for this ;

Case B is absurd : in fact, we would have a sudden disappearance of Vonones, and there is no explanation also for this ;

Case C is absurd : in fact, one would have a temporary disappearance of Spalyris-Špalahora, which one could not explain ;

Case D is absurd : also in this case, Spalyris-Špalahora would disappear temporarily and one would not be in a position to explain how ;

Case E is absurd : in fact, Špalagadama would reign before his father and one would have a temporary disappearance of Špalagadama himself, which one would not be in a position to explain ;

Case F is absurd : in fact, Špalagadama would reign before his father.

As none of the possible orders in which the issues may have followed one another—working on the assumption that Spalyris and Špalahora were the same person—appears to be plausible, one can in consequence infer that Spalyris

and Špalahora were two different persons. One can then explain the Prakrit inscription of Špalagadama ; as one would remember, it runs in fact : "Of the son of Špalahora, Špalagadama the just" ; it now appears clear that such coins must have been struck, after the death of Špalahora, by the son who had succeeded him in the rôle of Viceroy.

If now, having ascertained that Spalyris was a different person from Spalahora, we try to fix the order of succession of the coin types under consideration, we see that—*theoretically*—they may come in six different orders, i.e.

- A. Spalyris with Špalagadama ;
Vonones with Špalahora ;
Vonones with Spalagadama.
- B. Spalyris with Špalagadama ;
Vonones with Špalagadama ;
Vonones Špalahora.
- C. Vonones with Špalagadama ;
Spalyris with Špalagadama ;
Vonones with Špalahora.
- D. Vonones with Špalagadama ;
Vonones with Špalahora ;
Spalyris with Špalagadama.
- E. Vonones with Špalahora ;
Spalyris with Špalagadama ;
Vonones with Špalagadama.
- F. Vonones with Špalahora ;
Vonones with Špalagadama ;
Spalyris with Špalagadama.

It is clear that cases A, B, C and D are entirely absurd as they would imply that Spalagadama reigned before his father. Case E is also very unlikely as Vonones would temporarily disappear and his place would be taken by

somebody who does not style himself 'King of Kings' and this cannot be explained.

Case F is plausible, without doubt; Špalahora, Viceroy in Arachosia, strikes coins in the name of his king and his own; at his death, he is succeeded by his son Špalagadama who, at a certain moment, changes his king. But Spalyris himself is a vassal of some other king and the fact that he takes the place, on the coins, of Vonones, shows that he could not be a vassal of Vonones; on the other hand, it is a general rule of the Indo-Parthian coinage that the name of 'the King of Kings' must never be omitted from coins, and therefore it appears justified to exclude that Spalyris' overlord was a 'Parthian' king. The Šaka coinage, on the contrary, knows of several issues of Satraps who omitted to mention 'the King of Kings'. On the other hand, the particular title of "King's Brother" was borne by Spalyris who later became King of Kings of the Šakas; there is therefore sound ground to believe that Spalyris, as Spalirises, belonged to Šaka nationality. But, if Spalyris and Spalirises were Šaka and, as we have seen, Spalyris was not a vassal of a Parthian ruler, of which ruler were Spalyris and Spalirises the vassals? The only 'King of Kings' we know to have preceded Spalirises is the Šaka Maues.

Let us now see if it is possible to establish, at least approximately, the epoch of Vonones' rule.

Herzfeld and Tarn think that the Parthian king mentioned by Gutschmid as Artabanus II is the Suren who was appointed by Mithridates II as Satrap of Sakastene, and regard him to be the founder of the Suren dynasty.

In a previous paper of mine ('Notes on the Parthian and Indo-Parthian Coinage of the 1st Century B. C.' in *Comptes rendus du Congrès international de Numismatique*—in the press), I have shown that the supposed "Artabanus II" was none

other than Orodes I, 90-77 B. C.³ The hypothesis regarding the kingdom of the Suren, as formulated by Tarn, cannot be accepted ; in fact, as Orodes I celebrates on his coins the re-conquest of Aria, Traxiane and Margiane, this episode must have taken place between 87 B. C. (death of Mithridates II and of Gotarzes) and 80 B. C. (beginning of the war with Sinatruces). It is therefore possible to suppose that the efforts of Mithridates II and the Suren may have resulted in the breaking up of the Šaka hordes, warding off the Southern Šakas in Arachosia and India (towards 100 B.C.) and reducing the Northern Šakas in the three provinces of Aria, Margiane and Traxiane and in the unknown Katastrateia—all provinces which were, later on, conquered by Orodes I. Little is known of the inside events that

3 In further confirmation of such a hypothesis, one can quote the following facts :

- (1) Excavations in Susa have given us a good number of new types of bronze coins, belonging to this ruler, with symbols which show, without any doubt, that they were local issues, even if one left aside the fact that such coins have been found exclusively in Susa. Again, some such coins have been found to be overstruck on the coins of Mithridates II, and of the king whom I had identified as Gotarzes I.
- (2) Excavations in Seleucia show that silver and bronze coins of this king were regularly circulating in the territory. The extensive circulation of such coins also at the western limits of the empire might further be proved by the composition of a small hoard, recently found near Mardine (Turkey) and purchased by us ; it includes : 1 tetradrachm of Seleucus VI, 1 tetradrachm of Antiochus X, 29 tetradrachms of Philippos Philadelphos (none of the Roman epoch), 16 drachms of Gotarzes I, 14 drachms of Orodes I, 9 drachms of Sinatruces, and 12 drachms of Phraates III.
- (3) The considerable abundance of the coinage of this ruler, which forms, for me, the decisive reason for excluding the possibility that he may have been a vassal chief (who, by the way, would have ruled in Sakastene and would have struck his coins principally in Mesopotamia and Susiana!).

happened in Parthia during the rule of Sinatruces and Phraates III; but the little we know gives evidence of a strong central power, surely not inclined to the separation of the oriental provinces. On the other hand, just at the beginning of the reign of Orodes II (57-37 B.C.), the Suren of Sakastene appears as his most reliable vassal. Things changed after the battle of Carrhae; Orodes, after the victory, put the Suren to death, and his conduct in the following years cannot easily be explained; in fact, between 52 and 40 B.C., the Romans were, nearly all the time extremely weak in Asia; the chances for a decisive campaign were many; but Orodes did not avail himself of the opportunities (see Debevoise, *A Political History of Parthia*, pp. 96-108). The Parthians did something, but in between long intervals and without ever engaging big forces. As for the hypothesis regarding the revolt of Pacorus, which would explain the Parthian inactivity, a hypothesis accepted by the majority of scholars, Debevoise very correctly reminds us that nothing authorises us to believe that it was a fact; on the contrary, the excellent relations between Orodes and his son, the affection which bound them in later times, clearly indicate just the opposite.

It is, on the other hand, possible that the heirs of the dead Suren, on hearing of his assassination, may have surged in rebellion (towards 52-50 B.C.) and that Vonones, their ruler, may have adopted the title King of of Kings; the civil war between Orodes I and Vonones would have, therefore, engaged the Parthian forces in the east.

After some time, but anyway before 40 B.C. (date of the campaign of Pacorus in Syria), Orodes, perhaps with Šaka help (as Arachosia passes from Vonones to Spalyris), must have succeeded in handling the situation; in fact, Arsaces Theos, who for the style of his coins must be located in the second half of the 1st century B.C., does not bear the title of 'King of Kings'.

We have thus dated Vonones towards the middle of the 1st century B.C. and have seen how he must have been, in all likelihood, a contemporary of the Śaka Maues. In spite of the fact that the dating of Maues' reign does not concern us directly, it is worth a short digression, in view of its great historical importance.

Of Maues, we know a short inscription of the early years of his rule in Taxila, engraved on a copper plate and dated in the year 78. The era according to which the date may have been calculated has stirred lengthy controversies, which I will not recall here (as it is discussed in detail by Tarn in his volume); anyhow the dates generally accepted are those suggested by Rapson who thinks that we are dealing with a Śaka era starting in 150 B.C., and by Tarn who thinks it to be a Śaka era starting in 155 B.C. The Taxila plate would therefore be dated in 72 or 77 B.C. Tarn's reasons supporting the fact that we are facing a Śaka era are quite convincing; quite the contrary is the case with those he brings forward to support his starting year to be 155 B.C. In fact, he thinks that this date tallies with the settlement of the Śakas in Drangiana, with the consent of Mithridates I of Parthia, a settlement which is not confirmed by any positive information. It appears to me much more likely that the Śakas should have taken, as a starting point for the reckoning of their era, the invasion and the conquest of the eastern provinces of the Arsacid empire, events which can surely be dated in 130-129 B.C. If the Śaka era of the Taxila plate is really an era of 130-129 B.C. and, consequently, the plate and therefore Maues come to be dated at 52-51 B.C. (130-129 B.C. less 78 = 52-51 B.C.) —a date that tallies exactly with the one found for Vonones.

This coincidence appears to me to be extremely convincing.

We have already mentioned that the very rare coins

of Arsaces Theos do not bear the title of 'King of Kings', and that their style locates them surely in the second half of the 1st century B.C. ; he would, therefore, have reigned, as Viceroy, in the interval that separates Vonones from the rulers of the Gondophares group.

Coming to examine the position of the rulers of the Gondophares group, we find that we are, for the first time, in a position to deal with some precise dates. We have, in fact, two drachms, one belonging to Orthagnes and the other to Abdagases, which appear to be clearly dated.⁴

Orthagnes' drachm is dated $\Lambda\Omega\Omega\Gamma\Lambda\Sigma$ (Lous 233) and Abdagases $E\Gamma\Sigma$ (285);^{4a} as they are two very similar coins, which were clearly struck in Drangiana (Sakastene), one can exclude the possibility that they may refer to two different eras ; there is therefore an interval of 52 years between the two issues. As both Orthagnes and Abdagases are connected with Gondophares, one must admit that Orthagnes reigned before Gondophares, and Abdagases after Gondophares ; this is fully in line with the fact that in the joint coins of Orthagnes and Gondophares, the former appears in the place of honour, on the Obv., with the title of 'King of Kings', whilst the name of Gondophares appears only on the Rev., together with that of Gadana. It is no exception, therefore, to the rule of Indo-Greek coinage, which wants, in case of coins struck in the joint names of two rulers, that the name of the person of higher rank should appear in Greek on the Obv. of the coin.

Reverting to the coins of Orthagnes and Abdagases, we must ascertain the era according to which they were dated. As I have already had an opportunity of clarifying, since there is no doubt that Gondophares reigned in the first

4 Such coins have already been discussed by me in the above-mentioned work.

4a [See *Addenda* below.—D. C. S.]

half of the 1st century A.D., the only era having the years 233 and 285 on the one hand and the early years of Christ on the other is the Arsacid era of 247 B.C. Recent excavations tend to show that the Arsacid era was widely used in Parthia. The calculation according to this era (which, as we shall see, is the most logical also for the dates on the coins of Sanabares) would give us Orthagnes 'King of Kings' in Lous 233 Arsacid = June-July, 16 B.C., and Abdagases, 'King of Kings', in Arsacid 285 = 37 A.D. On the other hand, the Takht-i-Bahi inscription, mentioning Gondophares, is dated in the year 103, the 26th year : it is clear that the 26th year is very likely the 26th regnal year of Gondophares when the inscription was written ; but, as far as the era according to which the year 103 has been calculated, opinions differ. The majority of scholars refer the year to the Vikrama era (58 B.C.) and, therefore, date the inscription to 45 A.D. ; Van Lohuizen-de-Leeuw has suggested the Šaka era of 130 B.C. (which we have already mentioned) and this would bring the inscription to 27 A.D. Personally I think 27 A.D. should be absolutely excluded ; in fact, if we accepted this date, we ought to consider the drachms of Orthagnes and Abdagases and Sanabares as dated according to the Seleucid era and not in the Arsacid era (against the practice of the Arsacids who, in their very scarce coins struck in Iran, used the Parthian era) ; it would consequently give us Orthagnes as reigning in 78 B.C. and Abdagases 'King of Kings' in 26 A.D. This would oblige us to assign Vonones and Maues to the early years of the 1st century B.C., an impossible theory opposed to all we know about Indo-Greek history. A calculation based on the Vikrama era appears much more probable ; it might, in fact, be possible that the Indo-Parthians used dates according to an Iranian era in Sakastene and according to an Indian era in India (just as the Arsacids used the Seleucid era in Media and Babylon and the Arsacid era in Hyrcania and Parthia) ; moreover, it might

be possible that Abdagases, heir-apparent and governor of Sakastene, already had the title of 'King of Kings' and struck money (also herein parallel with the Parthian Phraates IV who, in $\Delta\text{Io}\Sigma\Gamma\bullet\Sigma$ — October, 39 B.C., was striking drachms with the title of 'King of Kings', while he was, together with Pacorus, associated with Orodes II). Anyhow, I would not accept, for the Takht-i-Bahi inscription, the Vikrama era without some reserve ; in fact, this would lead us to dating the beginning of Gondophares' reign to 19 A.D. and this—admitting that Orthagnes' dated drachm was struck at the beginning of his reign—would imply that Orthagnes ruled for not less than 35 years, a long time, particularly for a sovereign who struck relatively few coins. One cannot therefore exclude the possibility that the date we are considering may have been computed according to an era beginning in the first half of the first century B.C. (probably between 93 and 67 B.C.) and that the dated issues of Abdagases may come immediately after the death of Gondophares. [See *Addenda* below.—D. C. S.]

Having thus discussed the correct interpretation of the dates of Orthagnes, Gondophares and Abdagases, we now come to their historical significance.

On the assumption that Orthagnes' dated drachm ($\text{Lous } \Gamma\Delta\Sigma$) has been struck in June-July, 16 B.C., one has to note that the long civil war between Phraates IV and Tiridates II—lasting with alternate episodes from 35 to 25 B.C.—marked the beginning of the decline of the Arsacid dynasty and that, if Phraates was able to end it victoriously, this was due to the help given him by the "Shitians", i.e. the princes of the Oriental Provinces ; it is therefore possible to think that Orthagnes, lord of Drangiana (Sakastene) and the territories near it, succeeded —either as a reward of the help given or taking advantage of the weakness of the central power (which was also far from sound after the defeat of Tiridates, as is testified

by Joseph Flavius who mentions a usurper by the name of Mithridates around 11 B.C. and, a little before, tells us that Phraates, foreseeing disorders, sent his sons in hostage to Rome)—in making himself fully independent, assuming the title of 'King of Kings' towards 16 B.C.

Orthagnes, with the help of his subordinates and associate occupants of the throne, Gondophares and Gadana, took Arachosia from the Śakas ; and this happened either in the last days of the reign of Śaka Azilises or in the first years of his successor Azes II. Orthagnes died at the latest in 19 A.D. (if one accepts the Vikrama era for the Takht-i-Bahi inscription) or in the early years of the Christian era.

At Orthagnes' death, Gondophares ascended the throne. He left Gadana as governor of Arachosia (epoch corresponding to the issue of the Arachosian type coins, bearing Gondophares' name on the Obv. and Gadana's name on the Rev.) and conquered the Śaka kingdom which, under Azes II, was in full decay. This is confirmed by the issues of several Satraps (Aśpavarma and, most probably belonging to this period, also Bhadayaśa, Rajuvala, Karahostes and Zeionises) who were practically independent. Satrap Aśpavarma of Taxila, who clearly declared himself in favour of Gondophares, kept his dominions.

As for Gadana, in view of the extreme rarity of his coins we think that he died rather early, nor was he substituted ; we know, in fact, a rather plentiful coinage (which makes us think that it was protracted during a rather long time) of the Arachosian type, in which only Gondophares is mentioned ; it is clear that the latter had taken direct control of the region. Also Aśpavarma must have disappeared rather early as his coins issued as subordinate to Gondophares are much more scarce than those issued as vassal of Azes II.

Gondophares, therefore, directly issued coins (and therefore probably ruled without employing autonomous governors) in Drangiana (Sakastene), in : Arachosia and in a good part of the Indus valley. As for the date of Gondophares' death, two are the possible years : either 36-37 or 45-46 A.D. In fact, 37 A.D. is the year of issue of the dated drachms of Abdagases, who styles himself as 'King of Kings' ; therefore either, in the year 37 A.D., Gondophares named Abdagases (who was the son of a brother of his, most probably Gadana) as his successor, or associated the latter in the rule and entrusted him with the government of Drangiana (see the above mentioned drachms of Phraates IV) and then the Takht-i-Bahi inscription is dated according to the Vikrama era and Gondophares must have died soon after 45 A. D. ; or, alternatively, the said inscription is dated according to another era and the coinage of Abdagases comes to indicate the death of Gondophares. [See *Addenda* below—D.C.S.]

This is time to examine the relative position of Abdagases and Sasan. Both have till now been considered as vassals of Gondophares as they use on their coins the title of *Basileiōntos*, which the majority of scholars, following Tarn, have considered as an equivalent of "Viceroy". I do not find this interpretation convincing at all and am therefore re-examining it carefully.

The title *Basileiōntos* is used on coins :

1. by Antimachus I Theos and Agathocles on the coins reproducing the types of their predecessors (the so-called 'pedigree coins') ; such coins bear, in addition to the name of Antimachos and Agathocles, also the name of the 'forefather' whose coin is being reproduced ;

2. by Abdagases on the Indian type coins (never on the Arachosian or Iranian types), whereon, in the Prakrit legends, he styles himself as the son of Gondophares' brother ;

3. by Sasan on the Indian-type coins ; the Obv.

inscription of these coins, as deciphered by Whitehead, reads *Basileiōntos Basileiōn Sāsou*, whilst the Rev. mentions Gondophares;

4. on some rare drachms of Phraates IV, issued in the early part of his rule.⁵

The systematic examination of the coins of the above-mentioned rulers shows that the title of *Basileiōntos* invariably appears on the coins of Antimachos Theos, Agathocles, Abdagases and Sasan, on which the name of their predecessor is also mentioned, but that it never appears on the coins on which their name alone is shown. On the other hand, on the coins of Phraates IV the title of *Basileiōntos* is very rarely used, and is not found on those coins bearing a date, which were certainly struck by him during the period he was a viceroy (39 A.D.).

In the case of Phraates IV, therefore, it looks as if one could not attribute any special significance to the verbal form, as it is sporadically used. The contrary is in the case of the coins of Agathocles, Antimachos Theos, Abdagases and Sasan; if one keeps in mind that the coins on which we have the said verbal form reproduce the types of previous rulers and bear also their names, it becomes clear that the expression was used to clarify as to who the ruling king was.⁶ One has, therefore, reasons to think that the hypothesis of the associate kings, as brought forward by Tarn on the basis of his conclusions regarding the use of the verbal forms, is not well founded.

5 The type of short beard attributed in the *B.M.Cat.* to Mithridates III was previously attributed to Phraates IV by Wroth, 'Otannes and Phraates IV', *Num. Chron.*, 1900; this attribution has been taken up once more by me in the above-mentioned work, with new arguments.

6 We can recall the fact that dated Ptolemaic documents are generally headed *Basileiōntos Ptolemaībū*.

Reverting to the coins of Abdagases and Sasan, one must note that, while Abdagases struck coins in Drangiana (Sakastene), Arachosia and India, Sasan only issued coins in India. Furthermore, both these kings struck coins mentioning Gondophares (very rare in the case of Sasan, rather common in that of Abdagases, representing the totality of his coinage of the Parthian and Arachosian types). On the coins mentioning Gondophares, he is named only on the Rev.,⁷ while the names of Abdagases and Sasan appear in Greek on the Obv. in the place of honour. Such inscriptions, in fact, read :

1. Abdagases : Obv. *Basilei'ontos Basiltōn Abdagasou* = of the ruling 'King of Kings' Abdagases ; Rev. : *Gadaphara-bhataputraśa Maharajasa tratarasa Abadagaśasa* = of the son of Gondophares' brother, of the great king, of the savour Abdagases.
2. Sasan : Obv. *Basilei'ontos Basiltōn Sasan* = of the ruling 'King of Kings' Sasan ; Rev.⁸ : *Maharajasa Rajadirajasa gotidhramiśa Gadapharasa Sasasa* = of the Great King, of the King of Kings, of the legitimate lineage of Gondophares, Sasan.

It is clear that here, as in the case of Śpalagadama, the predecessor does not appear on the coins as a living person. The two Prakrit inscriptions, both proclaiming a family relation with Gondophares, lead one rather to think of a fight for succession, in which both the competitors are keen in proclaiming their sound claim to the throne.

7 With the possible exception of a coin in the B.M., which bears a very incomplete legend that appears to mention Gondophares also on the Obv.

8 The Rev. legend of Sasan's coins is never complete and the third word of the inscription has always remained uncertain to scholars ; luckily, two coins in our collection show the word completely and very clearly.

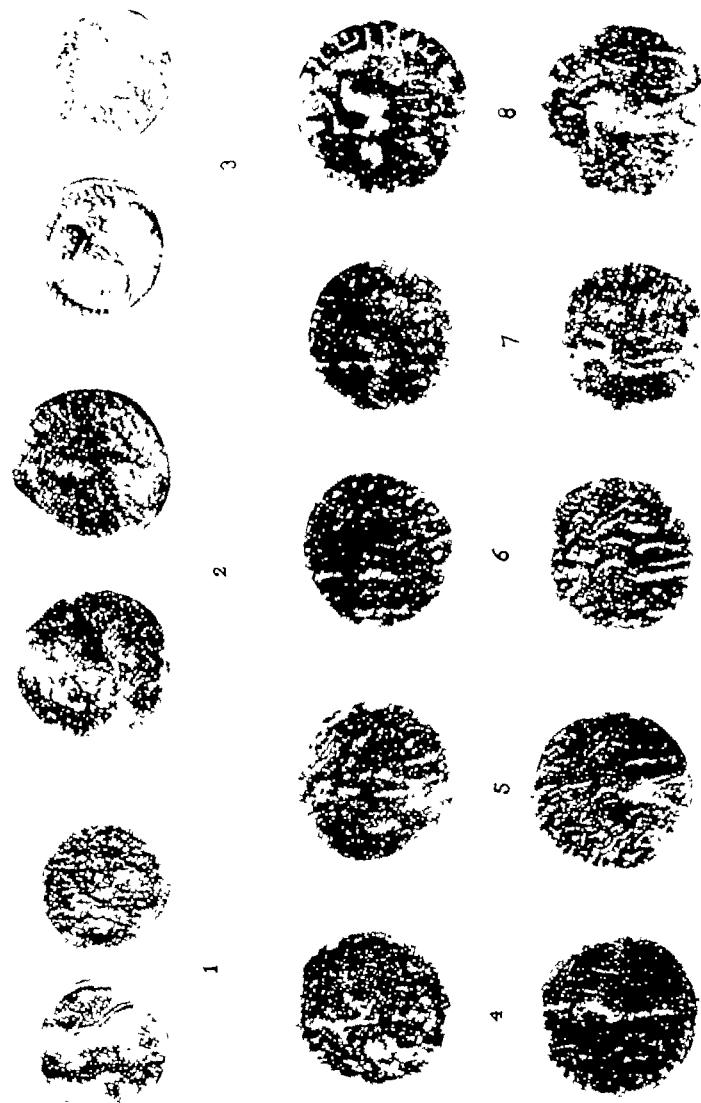


Fig. 1 Dated Drachm of Orthagnes (coll. Gen Houghton) Fig. 2—Bronze Coin of Pacores restriuck on a Coin of Soter Megas Fig. 3—Dated Drachm of Abdagases (coll. Von Petrowicz) [See Addenda—D C S] Fig. 4-7—Bronze Coins of Sasan offering a satisfactory reading of the Kharosthi Legend Fig. 8—Bronze Coin of Indian type issued by Abdagases, which closely resembles the Bronze Coins of Sasan

The possibility of a struggle for power, localized in the Indian provinces, is confirmed by the fact that Abdagases, unchallenged ruler of Arachosia and Drangiana (Sakastene), does not find it necessary to emphasise his relation with the deceased Gondophares in the coins struck in those provinces. The struggle in India must have ended to the advantage of Sasan, as his coins are much more frequent than those of the Indian type issued by Abdagases; furthermore, he was even in a position to strike, for a brief period, coins on which he did not mention Gondophares. Abdagases and Sasan are the last Indo-Parthian rulers to strike coins of the Indian type. Evidently the Kusānas and other peoples must have invaded the Indus valley and expelled the Parthians, weakened by the fratricidal struggle. The Parthians must have lost the Indus valley towards 50 A.D.

In Arachosia, between Abdagases' death and the advent of Sanabares (about 50 A.D.), Pacores ruled with the title of 'King of Kings'. Pacores' coins never mention Gondophares and there is no reason to suppose a relation between the two. One coin of Pacores, in our collection, is overstruck on a coin of 'Soter Megas', and one of this king, struck over a coin of Vima Kadphises, has been published by Whitehead. Such coins show that Pacores, 'Soter Megas' and Vima Kadphises were nearly contemporaneous; furthermore, the coins of 'Soter Megas' were not issued by the Satraps of Vima Kadphises as Tarn would have it, since it is, unlikely that a Satrap should overstrike a coin of his overlord. It is also possible to date these rulers towards the middle of the 1st century A.D. Apparently, they were the last to use the Kharoṣṭī characters on their coins.⁹

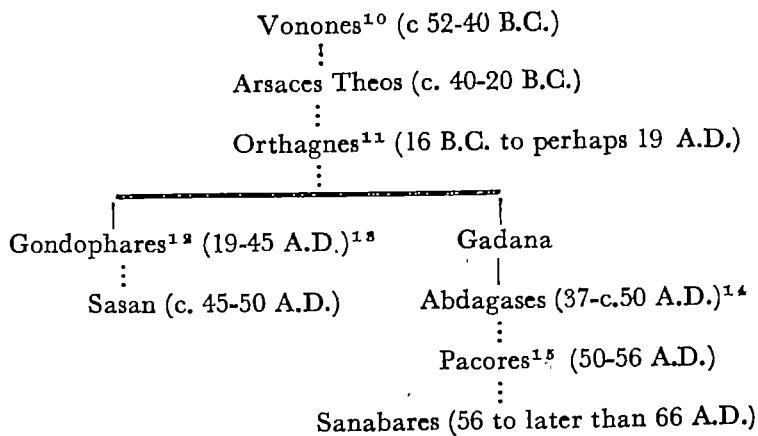
9 Out of the various types of coins struck by "Soter Megas", the rare issue bearing a Prakrit inscription is nothing but a reproduc-

The last ruler of the Indo-Parthian dynasty was Sanabares. We know a certain number of drachms of the Parthian type, and also some bronzes of the same type (which may have had the same value as the drachm) as well as of the Arachosian type. The Arachosian bronzes have the peculiarity of bearing Greek inscriptions both on the Obv. as well as the Rev., clearly showing that the Kharoṣṭhī alphabet had been completely abandoned. All the drachms are dated and represent two issues: one of 303 and the other of 313. It is clear that the said drachms of the same type, struck by Orthagnes and Abdagases, were dated according to the Arsacid era; Sanabares' dates must also be taken to be Arsacid. This means that Sanabares was ruling in the years 56 A.D. (303 Arsacid) and 66 A.D. (313 Arsacid).

As the Parthian type bronzes represent Sanabares without tiara and with the legend: *Basilōs Sanabarou*, whilst the drachms show him with tiara and with the inscription *Basilōs Megalou Sanabarou*, it is clear that the issue of bronzes must have preceded the first issue of drachms in the year 56 A.D. One may formulate the hypothesis that Sanabares struck the Parthian type bronzes as the Viceroy of Pacores, who styled himself *Basilōs Basilōn*, and that he succeeded Pacores in 56 A.D.

Concluding, the Indo-Parthian dynasty can today be reconstructed as follows :

tion of Śaka and Indo-Parthian coins circulating in India. It is most likely, therefore, that it should represent the first issue of this ruler. A coin precisely of this types was utilised to overstrike a coin of Vima Kadphises. Pacores, instead, overstrikes a "Soter Megas" coin of the common type, bearing only a Greek inscription.



10 His successive vassals were Spalahora and Spalagadama.

11 His vassals were Gondophares and Gadana,

12 His vassals were Gadana, Aśpavarma, Abdagases and Sasan.

13 The dates are calculated considering the Takht-i-Bahi inscription as dated in the Vikrama era; otherwise the dates would be: from about 1 to 37 A.D. [See *Addenda* below.—D. C. S.]

14 From 37 to 54 A.D. he was, perhaps, associated king with Gondophares. [See *Addenda* below.—D. C. S.]

15 Sanabares was probably his vassal.

APPENDIX

HERAIOS

This ruler, whose tetradrachms and obols we know, has been largely discussed by numismatists; in particular, Whitehead (*P.M. Cat.*) connects him with the Parthians; Tarn (*The Greeks in Bactria and India*), on the contrary, makes him the founder of the Kuṣāṇa dynasty. The inscription appearing on his tetradrachms reads: TVIANNONTOΣ HIAOV ΣANAB...KOIIAOV, whilst his obols sometimes bear: HIAIoV KoIIANoV.

It is clear that the engravers of these coins were writing P and I in the same way, as was quite frequently done in the East. Therefore I think that the complete legend of this ruler should be read as: TYPANNoNTOΣ HPAIoY ΣAKAB...KoIPANoY. *Eraios* is known in Greek as a personal name and both *Tu'rannos* and *Koíranos* are Greek titles. The word *Sakab...*, incomplete on all the coins, remains obscure.

As for the position of this ruler, we may say that:

A. the style of his coins and the type of his inscriptions, when studied in the light of the dates of the Indo-Greeks, Indo-Parthians and Kuṣāṇas, point to the probable period for his life in the second half of the first century A. D. (corresponding to the reigns of Orodes II and Phraates IV in Parthia);

B. the fact that none of his coins shows Kharoṣṭī characters indicates that his dominions did not include Arachosia, nor the Kabul valley, nor any Indian district;

C. as in the second half of the first century A.D., there were no independent Śaka territories outside India, one can exclude the possibility that Heraios may have been a Śaka;

D. the interpretation: *Koīrānos*—Kushanu, is artificial; *Koīrānos* means 'ruler'. Moreover, considering that Kujula Kadphises and Kadaphes copied Indo-Greek types and that their known types can be compared to issues of the Kabul valley or India, it looks likely that the Kuṣāṇas did not strike coins in Bactriana. Finally, the Kuṣāṇas only coined very rarely in silver; this set is, on the contrary, exclusively made of silver coins. Personally I think it possible that Heraios may have been the ruler of a part of the territories, formerly of the Śakas, which had been re-conquered by the Parthians towards 85 B.C., i.e. Aria, Margiana and Traxiana. Heraios' coins could be related to the issues of Sapadbizes and Tanlismardates, as a head like the one appearing on the Obv. of the coins of these rulers has been used as countermark on the drachms of Phraates IV (B.M.)

ADDENDA

When the paper had already gone to the press, I had the opportunity of examining the cast of Abdagases' drachm discussed in this article. An examination of the reproduction shows that the three letters which, on the photograph, I had taken as the date 285 are, instead, the three initial letters of the word ΕΠΙΦΑΝΟΥ = *Epiphanou*. This does not, anyhow, affect the reconstruction of events as given in this paper; on the contrary, it simplifies it as it does not make it any more necessary to suppose that Abdagases and Gondophares should have ruled for a certain period contemporaneously, or that Gondophares should have been dead by 37 A.D.

LECTURES AT THE CENTRE OF ADVANCED STUDY

I

Lecturer : Dr. N. R. Banerjee, M.A., D.Phil., Archaeological Adviser to the Government of Nepal, Kathmandu

Subject : Glimpses of the *Kumārasambhava* in Art

Date : Tuesday, the 13th September, 1966.

Present : Prof. D. C. Sircar, M.A., Ph.D. (in the chair); Dr. K. K. Ganguly, M.A., D. Phil.; Sri P. C. Majumdar, M.A.; Sri R. K. Bhattacharyya, M.A.; Sri D. C. Bhattacharyya, M.A.; Sm. K. Saha, M.A.; Sm. J. Dasgupta, M.A.; Sri S. Bandyopadhyay, M.A. LL.B.; Sri S. P. Singh, M.A.; Sri R. Chakravarty, M.A.; Sm. C. Sengupta, M.A.; Sm. B. Banerjee, M.A.; Sri R. P. Majumdar, M.A.; Sri Vasant Chowdhury; Sri Sukumar Sen Gupta, M.A.; Sri Asoke Kumar Bhattacharyya, M.A.; Sri R. C. Kar, M.A.; and others.

Summary : It was an illustrated lecture on the portrayal of scenes from the *Kumārasambhava* of Kālidāsa in sculpture. The lecturer cited specimens of sculpture from Praha Prithu in Cambodia, the Ramesvar caves at Ellora, the Elephanta cave near Bombay, the temple at Tiruvalisvaram in the Tirunelveli District, Madras, and a series of 5 panels from Nepal, which portray scenes covering the penance of Pārvatī, the appearance of Śiva on the scene in the disguise of a *Brahmacārin*, their ecstatic bliss of matrimony and the delight at the expectation of Kumāra, and the self-indulgent dalliance of the couple with their infant son,—all in the mountainous setting of the Himalayas. The lecturer made it clear, with arguments and facts, that the sculptures from Nepal bore marks of Gupta workmanship and were attributable to the fifth and sixth centuries A.D.

Discussion : Sri R. K. Bhattacharya observed that the details of a few sculptures explained by Dr. Banerjee as *Kumārasambhava* scenes do not tally with Kālidāsa's description. But Dr. Banerjee pointed out that he had already mentioned in the lecture that, in some cases, the artist has treated the subject in his own way. Prof. D. C. Sircar also admitted that the artist was not bound to follow strictly the model or convention.

Sri S. P. Singh suggested that one of the sculptures supposed to represent Śiva and Pārvatī with the symbolical representation of Kumāra by a peacock may have been really a scene depicting the Gupta emperor Kumāragupta I (some of whose coins exhibit the figure of the peacock)

and his queen who was the mother of Skandagupta. Dr. Banerjee dismissed the suggestion with the remark that Sri Singh is entitled to have his own opinion.

Dr. K. K. Ganguly thought that a few of the Nepal sculptures attributed by Dr. Banerjee to the fifth century A.D. may be assigned to a later date on stylistic grounds while Prof. Sircar observed that paleography supports Dr. Banerjee's dating in respect of most of the said sculptures though the one depicting Śiva-Pārvati's dalliance exhibiting reflection of a spurious section of the *Kumārasambhava* is later. Prof. Sircar also pointed to a sculpture representing a lady standing with flames all around (wrongly understood by a writer in a recent issue of the *Orissa Historical Journal* as a case of *sati-dāha*) and posed the question whether the scene can be taken to mean Pārvati's penance. He thought that there may be difference of opinion as regards the interpretation of all of Dr. Banerjee's sculptures as *Kumārasambhava* scenes. Dr. Banerjee said in reply that the section dealing with Śiva-Pārvati's dalliance in the *Kumārasambhava* may not be spurious and that his interpretation of the sculptures mostly depends on the context and sequence of the sculptures.

II

Lecturer : Prof. Heinz Mode, Director of the Institute of Buddhistic Study, University of Halle, German Democratic Republic.

Subject : Studies in Buddhist Art in Germany

Date : Thursday, the 19th January, 1967.

Present : Prof. D. C. Sircar, M.A., Ph.D. (in the chair); Sri D. Mukherjee, M.A.; Dr. A. N. Lahiri, M.A., D.Litt.; Dr. D. R. Das, M.A., D.Phil.; Sri R. K. Bhattacharya, M.A.; Dr. Sm. B. Bhattacharya, M.A., Ph.D.; Sri D. C. Bhattacharya, M.A.; Sm. K. Saha, M.A.; Sm. J. Dasgupta, M.A.; Sri S. Bandyopadhyay, M.A., LL.B.; Sri S. P. Singh, M.A.; Sm. B. Banerjee, M.A.; Sri R. P. Majumdar, M.A.; Dr. N. N. Bhattacharya, M.A., D.Phil.; Sri M. Chandra; and others.

Summary : Indian art remained practically unknown in Germany until the latter part of the nineteenth century. It was first left to the casual interest of amateurs like Niebuhr, Schlegel and others, and even a man like Goethe, who was an admirer of Indian culture, had the poorest opinion about Indian art because he had no opportunity of studying specimens of the art in original. The Gandhāra sculpture, which was usually regarded as the Greek chapter of Indian art, however, roused interest among a section of art-historians. In the field of Indian Buddhist art, Gruenwedel was the real pioneer and his *Buddhist* 1

Art in India is still the standard work on the subject, though it contained some wrong assumptions which have been rectified by later writers like Waldschmidt. In 1921, Cohn's *Indische Plastik* was published and in it Indian sculpture was treated as an art, and not as an object of ethnological or religious interest. Stella Kramrisch expounded Indian art on the basis of Indian aesthetics and spiritual values in her *Grundzuege der Indischen Kunst* published in 1924. Bachhofer's *Die Fruehhindische Plastik* appeared in 1929. Between 1933 and 1945, publications on Indian art were suppressed though soon afterwards studies in Indian Buddhist art again flourished. Since 1948 Indian art and archaeology has been a recognised subject in the University of Halle. Now, in the department of Indian art and archaeology in the said University, a group of scholars is especially engaged in the study of Buddhist art. Hermann Goetz, the famous translator of Coomaraswamy's *History of Indian and Indonesian Art* into German is back from India to teach and work at Heidelberg. Waldschmidt is active at the University of Goettingen, and the Berlin Museum has become, under the guidance of Hartel who is a pupil of Gruenwedel, a central place for the study of Indian art in Germany.

Discussion : Dr. A. N. Lahiri agreed with Prof. Mode as regards Goethe's remarks about the poor quality of Indian art and said that they were due to the fact that much of Indian art was then unknown. Prof. Sircar, however, said that Goethe did not possibly understand the meaning of Indian art because he had not the training required for its appreciation. In Prof. Sircar's opinion, just as the appreciation of foreign music requires some training of the ear, foreign art can hardly be appreciated without initiation into the subject.

Prof. Mode was supported by Sri D. Mukherjee and Dr. D. R. Das who thought that a beautiful thing is appreciated by everybody. Disagreeing with this view, Prof. Sircar observed that the conception of beauty is not strictly universal; e.g., the Chinese and the Negroes may entertain different concepts of beauty.

Sri S. Bandyopadhyay admitted that 'a thing of beauty is joy for ever', but thought that tastes vary. He also said that understanding and taste are inseparably connected.

Prof. Mode said that, if the approach to art is biased and nationalistic, then one may not appreciate the art of another country; but if it is unbiased and universal, then there is no reason why a beautiful art will not be appreciated.

Dr. A. N. Lahiri made a distinction between natural and man-made objects and said that Prof. Sircar's contention is true only in respect of the latter category. Prof. Sircar, however, was doubtful whether even a natural object would have the same appeal to the taste of various peoples.

III

Lecturer : Madame Dr. Stepkova, Keeper of the Oriental Numismatic Collection, Naprstek, Musuem, Prague, Czechoslovakia.

Subject : The Structure of Finds of Oriental Coins unearthed in Czechoslovakia.

Date : Friday, the 3rd February, 1967.

Present : Prof. D. C. Sircar, M.A., Ph.D. (in the chair); Dr. K. K. Ganguly, M.A., D.Phil.; Dr. A. N. Lahiri, M.A., D.Litt.; Dr. D. R. Das, M.A., D.Phil.; Dr. Sm. B. Bhattacharyya, M.A., Ph.D.; Sri D. C. Bhattacharyya, M.A.; Sm. K. Saha, M.A.; Sm. J. Dasgupta, M.A.; Sri S. Bandyopadhyay, M.A., LL.B.; Dr. N. N. Bhattacharyya, M.A., D.Phil.; Sri S. P. Singh, M.A.; Sm. C. Sengupta, M.A.; Sri R. P. Majumdar, M.A.; Sri A. Basu; Dr. Chinmay Dutt, M.A., D.Phil.; and others.

Summary : The lecture dealt with the Oriental coins discovered in Czechoslovakia, which Madame Stepkova divided into three groups. The first or the oldest of the three groups consists of the Parthian coins, the second of Arab Muslim silver coins which found their way into Europe about the 10th century A.D., and, the third of coins of the Osmanid Turks. The most interesting of the three groups of coins are those belonging to the second group, which are again divided into two classes, viz. the North-Western and the South-Eastern, the coins of the former group being found in Bohemia and Moravia. Madame Stepkova observed that these were no other than the Kinsar coins mentioned in literature. The second class probably served the purpose of ornaments since the coins are all pierced. The import of Oriental silver began to decline with the discovery of silver mines in the Slavonic lands. Shortage of silver in Islamic countries telling upon the production of coins also contributed to a sharp fall in their export in Europe. Finally the thriving condition of the commercial relation between Western Asia and Eastern Europe practically ended with the development of commerce between the former region and the coastal cities of Italy across the Mediterranean.

Discussion : Prof. D. C. Sircar expressed surprise at the absence of Chinese and Sassanian issues among the coins discovered in Czechoslovakia. As to the Chinese coins, the lecturer observed that the Muslim coins were imported into Europe as bullion and not as monetary units and, since the Chinese coins were not made of precious metals, their rôle was negligible in international trade. Moreover, she pointed out, the interference of the Arab merchants, who were opposed to direct trade between the other Asian countries and Europe, made it

difficult for Chinese and such other coins to reach Europe. Prof. Sircar drew Madame Stepkova's attention to the discovery of stray Kusāna coins in Europe and a hoard of them in Abyssinia and observed that this (especially the discovery of a hoard) was the result of trade. In Madame Stepkova's opinion, these coins were imported as precious metal. Dr. A. N. Lahiri referred to a coin of Menander found in Wales and said that coins could have been carried by pilgrims. He thought that the Indo-Greek coins found in U.P. were probably carried by soldiers while trade may also have been responsible for the migration of coins. Dr. Lahiri also wanted to know if there were Indian coins in Czechoslovakian museums. Madame Stepkova said that the Prague Museum has a collection of such coins.

As regards the Parthian coins discovered in Czechoslovakia, Madame Stepkova said that the earliest of them belong to the first century B.C. Prof. Sircar observed that the coins would thus appear to have belonged to the decadent period of Parthian rule following the death of Mithridates II in 88 B.C.

IV

Lecturer : Sri C. D. Chatterjee, M.A., retired Professor and Head of the Department of Ancient Indian History, etc., Universities of Lucknow and Gorakhpur.

Subject : Indo-Ceylonese Cultural Relations.

Date : Wednesday, the 22nd February, 1967

Present : Prof. D. C. Sircar, M.A., Ph.D. (in the chair) ; Sri D. Mukherjee, M.A.; Dr K. K. Dasgupta, M.A., D.Phil.; Dr A. N. Lahiri, M.A., D.Litt.; Dr. S. K. Mitra, M.A., D.Phil.; Dr. D. R. Das, M.A., D.Phil.; Sri P. C. Majumdar, M.A.; Sri R. K. Bhattacharyya, M.A.; Dr. Sm. K. Saha, M.A., D.Phil.; Sri S. Bandyopadhyay, M.A., LL.B.; Dr. N. N. Bhattacharyya, M.A., D.Phil.; Sri S. P. Singh, M.A.; Sri D. L. Barua, M.A.; Sri Y. D. Tiwari; Shri S. Sengupta, M.A.; Sri D. P. Guha, M.A.; Sri R. K. Billore, B.A.; and others.

Summary : Sri Chatterjee dealt with Indo-Ceylonese Cultural Relations for a period of about five hundred years down to 1 A.D. He began with the different names of Ceylon found in early Indian epigraphic and literary texts. Referring to the primitive inhabitants of Ceylon now called Vedda, he observed that their ancestors were variously called 'Yaksa, Pulinda and Savara.' He also pointed out that the Veddas of Ceylon have cultural affinities with the Todas of the Nilgiri Hills.

Then he dealt with certain aspects of the cultural relation between India and Ceylon such as development of Pearl Fishery in the eastern coastal region of Ceylon by Indian merchants; the three mythical visits

of the Buddha to Ceylon ; the construction of a sanctuary enshrining the hair relic of the Buddha on the top of a hill, between B.C. 528 and 520, by two Indian merchants ; and others. In this connection, he pointed out that no reference to building of the shrine is to be found in the Pali chronicles ; but it is mentioned in the *Pūjavaliya*, a Sinhalese chronicle of the 11th or 12th century, and is supported by the evidence of the Tiriyyate rock inscription.

Sri Chatterjee then dealt with such problems as the date of the Buddha's death, the Aryan colonization of Ceylon, the arrival of Vijaya and his 700 followers, the controversy centering round the ancestral home of Vijaya, accession of king Tissa, the first Buddhist mission to Ceylon, development of Buddhism in the island, occupation of Northern Ceylon by the Tamils, and the First Buddhist Council in Ceylon.

Discussion : Dr. A. N. Lahiri wanted to know the basis on which Sri Chatterjee connected the Todas of India with the cannibal Savaras or Yaksas of Ceylon regarded as the same as the modern Veda (Sanskrit *Vyādha*). He pointed out that, far from being cannibals, the Todas were strictly vegetarian. Sri Chatterjee said that the point raised by Dr. Lahiri was to be solved by the anthropologists.

There was some discussion on the controversy whether Vijaya went to Ceylon from Lita or Rādha. Sri D. P. Guha said that the Tapusa-Bhallika tradition was recorded in the *Sāsanavamsa* wherein the two merchants are said to have built the Swedagon Pagoda in Burma. As to Ceylon's connection with Bengal, he observed that, in the *Sahassavatthupakarana* and *Sihalavatthu*, the diction is purely Bengali. Moreover, the Ceylonese even today pay great respect to Bengali culture. Dr. N. N. Bhattacharyya said that Vijaya's father Sīhabāhu married his sister Sīhasīvali and, since marriage with one's sister was in vogue among the Śākyas and the Koliyas, Vijaya's ancestral home should be located somewhere in Eastern India. Prof. Sircar observed that such arguments do not prove anything. In his opinion, it was difficult to say whether the colonists went from Bengal or Gujarat, since traders both from Bengal and Gujarat appear to have been responsible for colonising Ceylon, even though Vijaya was associated with Rādha and Vanga.

Sri R. K. Bhattacharyya wanted to know how the date of the Buddha's death was fixed in the second decade of the fifth century B.C. Prof. Sircar replied that the clue was supplied by the Cantonese dotted record. He also observed that there is no reason to hold Vijaya's story as historical, and that the story of the introduction of Buddhism in Ceylon during the Buddha's life time does not appear to be probable. Sri Chatterjee said that the Vijaya episode should not be dismissed as a legend since Ceylon's history begins with this event. In his opinion,

period, though traces of earlier paintings go back to the 2nd century B.C. These paintings, it was observed, are a continuation of the sculptural art. Theoretically, they are not different from sculpture in purpose and function.

Miniature painting, in the opinion of Sri Bhattacharyya, originated as a reaction to the life-like or colossal art of the classical age, but served the same purpose and was inspired by the same motive, viz. the propagation of the tenets of the faith to which the people were affiliated. The field of miniature painting in ancient India was therefore limited to the depiction of the Jātaka stories, religious legends and figures of deities in manuscripts and similar other objects. The palm leaf Mahāyāna texts of Nepal and the illustrated palm-leaf pages of the *Kalpasūtra* and *Kālakācāryakathā* from Western India represent early specimens of miniature painting. The speaker recognised in the figure of the Śāhi king as drawn in the *Kālakācāryakathā* manuscript certain similarities with Central Asian paintings depicting noble men. In the Turko-Afghan age, influence of Arab painting on the early Indian and Islamic artists began to be felt. Out of it developed the Rājasthāni paintings of the Kishangarh, Bundi, Kota, Marwar, Mewar, Bikaner and a few other schools. Of early miniature paintings that contributed to the growth of Rājasthāni paintings, the school of Malwā centering round Mandu was specially notable.

The gradual Indianisation of the predominantly Persian elements was almost completed by the time of Shāhjahān. From the end of the 19th century A.D., patronage of the local rulers in the Punjab hills helped in developing the Pahari school which, with a lyrical background and with the excellence reached in the fineness of the lines, came to be a very alluring style and continued for a couple of centuries.

With the decline of the Pahari school emerged the provincial schools such as Gujarat, Bengal and Orissa. In Bengal under the leadership of the Tagores were revived older techniques and themes in the latter half of the last century. In the South, Raja Ravi Varma rendered Puranic themes in European style.

Discussion : Sri S. Bandyopadhyay recited some stanzas from Kālidāsa, which, he thought, could be associated with the art of painting. Sri Bhattacharyya, however, pointed out that Sri Bandyopadhyay's quotations describe picturesque scenes, but do not refer to paintings. Sri S. P. Singh wanted to know how far miniature painting was influenced by cave painting. Sri Bhattacharyya said that, both being derived from the same inspiration, there is naturally influence of one on the other.

Prof. Sircar referred to the question of the antiquity of miniature painting. He said that there was evidence to show that miniature representation was a feature of Indian art even in the Bharhut sculp-

tures of the second century B.C., and, since sculptures were very often painted in ancient India, the Bharhut medallions could have been miniature paintings at one stage. Sri D. Mukherjee drew attention to the word *citrana* in a Nasik inscription, while Prof. Sircar not only traced the same word in a Nagarjunikonda epigraph as well, but also referred to the adjective *citra-vināśa-citrītā* qualifying *pratimā* in a Gupta record of the fifth century A.D.

Sri S. K. Chakravarti asked whether there is any representation, in miniature painting, of the epistolary art, i.e. of a person engaged in writing a letter. Sri Bhattacharyya said that he did not remember to have noticed any such specimen.

VI

Lecturer : Sri S. B. Bhattacharya, M.A., Linguist, Anthropological Survey of India, Calcutta.

Subject : Language and the Study of Ancient History and Culture

Date : Wednesday, the 16th August, 1967.

Present : Prof D C Sircar, M.A., Ph.D. (in the chair) ; Dr K. K. Dasgupta, M. A., D.Phil. ; Dr. A. N. Lahiri, M.A., D.Litt. ; Dr. S. K. Mitra, M.A., D.Phil. ; Dr. D. R. Das, M.A., D.Phil. ; Sri R. K. Bhattacharyya, M.A. ; Dr. Sm. K. Saha, M.A., D.Phil. ; Sri A. K. Chatterjee, M.A. ; Sri S. Bandyopadhyay, M.A., LL.B. ; Sri S. P. Singh, M.A. ; Sri S. K. Basu, B.A. ; Sri R. K. Billore, B.A. ; and others.

Summary : Sri Bhattacharyya demonstrated how far language can be utilized in reconstructing the history and culture of an ancient people. The anthropologists who study the culture of a living race have an advantage over the archaeologists, for they can go straight to the people, observe their mode of life and ask them questions about their culture. The archaeologists, on the other hand, study extinct cultures and reconstruct the history of ancient peoples that are no longer there to speak about themselves. The task of the archaeologist is thus undoubtedly very difficult. But, in this difficult job, he gets immense help from the artifacts made by the ancient people whose history and culture he is going to study.

One of the most important things made by man is his language, and the archaeologists make the fullest use of the literature and other written records of an ancient people in reconstructing their history and culture. But the basic elements of a language are its sound system and words. The sounds and words offer much information about the people who use the language, and the archaeologists tap these sources fruitfully in their bid to reconstruct the history and culture of an ancient people.

Sri Bhattacharyya then said that a number of words pronounced differently by different peoples or different groups of the same people would indicate difference in culture. Next he pointed out how the popularity of words beginning with 'go' in the early Vedic literature proves the importance of the cow in the socio-economic life of the Vedic people. Among the words dealt with by Sri Bhattacharyya, one was *Purandara* which he was inclined to associate with modern geographical names like *Mohenjodaro*. He also demonstrated the adoption of Sanskrit *godhūma* (wheat) in the various Nonaryan languages and doubted whether *Cera* of the later Vedic literature should be associated with *Kerala* and modern Khandwa with *Khāndava*. Sri Bhattacharyya did not accept the derivation of *Manasā* from South Indian *Mañcamma*.

Discussion : Sri R. K. Bhattacharyya asked which of the two languages, old Persian and Sanskrit, was the older. Dr. Bhattacharyya and Prof. D. C. Sircar remarked that, both being sister languages, it was not possible to say that one is older than the other.

Sri A. K. Chatterjee observed that usually the frequency of vowels in any language was indicative of the physical weakness of its speakers in comparison to those whose language required a greater use of consonants. In his opinion, peoples (e.g. the Chinese) using mono-syllabic words are more practical than those (e.g. the Germans) who use words of more syllables than one. Prof. Sircar said that such a generalisation requires to be supported by a thorough study of different languages and their speakers.

Prof. Sircar then raised the question whether the borrowing of the use of words meaning 'wheat' by different peoples can be associated with the spread of wheat cultivation. He did not appreciate Sri Bhattacharyya's doubt as to the identification of *Cera* with *Kerala* since *Cera* is the Dravidian name for *Kerala* while the ruler of *Kerila* is called *Keralaputra* in Aśokan records and *Kerobothra* in early Greek sources. Sri Bhattacharyya, however, preferred the identification of the *Cera* with the modern *Cero*. But Prof. Sircar doubted whether the name of the modern Ceros could be expected in the later Vedic age. He also said that the name *Khandwa* is no doubt the same as that of *Khāndava*, though the *Khāndava* forest lay far away from modern Khandwa.

As regards Sri Bhattacharyya's doubt about the derivation of *Manasā* from *Mañcamma*, Prof. Sircar remarked that *Manasādevī* was really meaningless as a Sanskrit expression, but that the very similar name *Cetasādevī* occurs in a South Indian record of the 6th century AD.

Sri Saktikali Basu wanted to know whether *Kṛṣṇa* (Christ) and *Kṛṣṇa* (*Kṛṣṇa*) could be connected philologically, and Prof. Sircar observed that Sri Bhattacharyya's suggestion relating *Mohenjodaro* to *Purandara* should not be taken seriously, because *Mohenjodaro* is

MONTHLY SEMINARS AT THE CENTRE OF ADVANCED STUDY

I

Monday, the 22nd November, 1965.

Present : Prof. D. C. Sircar, M.A., Ph.D. (in the chair); Sri D. Mukherjee, M.A.; Sri K. K. Dasgupta, M.A.; Dr. A. N. Lahiri, M.A., D.Litt.; Dr. S. R. Das, M.A., D.Phil.; Dr. Sm. A. Ray, M.A., D.Phil.; Dr. S. R. Banerjee, M.A., D.Phil.; Sri R. K. Bhattacharyya, M.A.; Dr. Sm. B. Bhattacharyya, M.A., Ph.D.; Sri D. C. Bhattacharyya, M.A.; Sm. B. Saraswati, M.A., Sm. J. Dasgupta, M.A.; Sri D. K. Nag, M.A.; Sri S. Bandyopadhyay, M.A., LL.B.; Sm. J. Saha, M.A.; Sm. G. Dasgupta, M.A.; Sm. M. Ray, M.A.; Sm. K. Jalan, M.A.; Sri R. K. Chakravarty, M.A.; Sri S. Dutta, M.A.; and others

Proceedings : Sri Rabindra Kumar Bhattacharyya read his paper on the date of Mahāpadma Nanda. He cited certain passages of the Puranic texts and referred to the Jain *Siḥavirāvalīcaritra* in order to prove that Mahāpadma Nanda ascended the throne in c 485 or roughly 500 B.C. He also contended that the nine Nandas represented nine generations.

In commenting on Sri Bhattacharyya's views, Prof. D. C. Sircar pointed out that the ascription of Mahāpadma Nanda's accession to 500 B.C., militates against the evidence of the Buddhist literature, which is more reliable than the Puranic and Jain traditions. The Cantonese dotted record, he said, places the Buddha's death at 486 B.C., and Mahāpadma Nanda of Magadha must have flourished considerably later than Bimbisāra and Ajātaśatru who were kings of Magadha before the Nandas and flourished in the age of the Buddha. Sri Bhattacharyya asked why Puranic evidence should be ignored in this matter. Prof. Sircar observed that the various evidences have to be considered together and referred to H. C. Raychaudhuri's comparative study of conflicting evidences on the early history of Magadha.

2. Prof. D. C. Sircar then read his paper on Ariaka mentioned in the *Periplus of the Erythraean Sea* and the Geography of Ptolemy. He tried to prove that the Sadenoī in Ptolemy's 'Ariake (Aparānta) of the Sadenoī' should be identified with the Śātavāhanas and that Ptolemy's Larike or Lāta (South Gujarat) in the kingdom of Śaka Caṣṭana originally formed the northern part of Aparānta. In his opinion, although Aparānta occurs in the list of territories in Śaka Rudradāman's kingdom, he was holding sway only over the Lāta portion of Northern

Aparānta while the Thana region continued to remain in the possession of the successors of Gautamiputra Śātakarni of the Śātavāhana dynasty

Sri D. Mukerjee and Dr. A. N. Lahiri wanted to know whether Lāta and Aparānta are called Lātikā and Āryaka or Aparāntikā in Sanskrit literature. Prof. Sircar replied in the negative, but pointed out the possibility of the derivation *Lāta* = *Lātaka* = *Lātikā* and *Aparānta* = *Aparāntaka* = *Aparāntikā*.

[The paper has been published in *Journ. Ind. Hist.*, December, 1965, pp. 693 ff.]

II

Monday, the 13th December, 1965.

Present : Prof. D. C. Sircar, M.A., Ph.D. (in the chair); Sri D. Mukherjee, M.A.; Dr. K. K. Dasgupta, M.A., D.Phil.; Dr. A. N. Lahiri, M.A., D.Litt.; Dr. S. R. Das, M.A., D.Phil.; Dr. S. R. Banerjee, M.A., D.Phil.; Sri R. K. Bhattacharyya, M.A.; Dr. Sm. B. Bhattacharyya, M.A., Ph.D.; Sri D. C. Bhattacharyya, M.A.; Sm. K. Saha, M.A.; Sm. B. Saraswati, M.A.; Sri D. K. Nag, M.A.; Sri M. M. Mukherjee, M.A.; Sm. J. Saha, M.A.; Sri S. P. Singh, M.A.; Sri R. K. Chakravarty, M.A.; Sri S. Dutta, M.A.; Sri R. P. Majumdar, M.A.; Sri S. Bandyopadhyay, M.A., LL.B.; and others.

Proceedings : Sri S. Bandyopadhyay read his paper entitled 'Vimśopaka and its Relation with Dramma' in which the following points were emphasised. That twenty Vimśopakas made a Dramma was suggested by previous writers on indirect evidence. Sri Bandyopadhyay, however, pointed out that there is one literary text which clearly states that twenty Vimśopakas made a Dramma. There is also evidence, he observed, to show that sometimes 100 Vimśopakas were regarded as equal to a Dramma. Scholars believe that Rūpaka and Dramma are the same, because five Vimśopakas are stated to be equal to one-fourth of Rūpaka. But according to Sri Bandyopadhyay, sometimes five Rūpakas made one Dramma, and Dramma in this case probably denoted a gold coin.

Dr. A. N. Lahiri, Dr. S. R. Banerjee, Sri S. P. Singh, Sri R. K. Chakravarty and Prof. D. C. Sircar took part in the discussion on the points raised in Sri Bandyopadhyay's paper. Dr. Lahiri referred to the Greek silver coin called Drachma, from which the name of the Indian Dramma was derived, while Dr. Banerjee and Sri Chakravarty suggested that the metal of the Dramma, whether gold or silver, required to be indicated. But Prof. Sircar observed that the name of the standard coin was also used to indicate 'money' so that the name of a coin of a particular metal later came to be applied to the coins even of

other metals. He drew attention to the name Dīndra (from the Roman silver *Denarius*) applied to the Gupta gold coin as well as to cowrie-shell in Kashmir and also to the name Drama applied to the Yaudheya copper coin and to the copper Dām of the Muslim rulers.

[The paper has been published in *JNSI*, Vol. XXVIII, pp. 21 ff.]

2. Sri R. P. Majumdar read his paper on some *Naiyāyikas* and *Nyāya* terms in inscriptions, in which reference was made to seven epigraphical records beginning with the Mathurā lion capital inscriptions. Prof. D. C. Sircar pointed out that there are numerous other epigraphic records referring to the study of *Nyāya*; e.g., the Śaka ruler Rudradāman and Śāba Virasena, minister of Candragupta II, are called well-versed in the said subject in the Junagarh (150 A.D.) and Udayagiri (c. 400 A.D.) inscriptions respectively.

3. Dr. S. R. Banerjee raised discussion on two *Sūtras* in *Puruṣottama*'s *Prākṛtiānuśāsana* and pointed out that *stah* *śtah* and *vistarasya* should be regarded as one single rule and not as two different rules as has been done by Nitti Dolci, D. C. Sircar and M. Ghosh. Prof. Sircar observed that Dr. Banerjee's suggestion is interesting and intelligent.

4. Prof. D. C. Sircar raised discussion on the suggestion of a recent author that Hiuen-tsang and the author of the Aihole inscription do not specifically refer to Pulakeśin's victory over Harṣavardhana, so that the battle was apparently indecisive. Prof. Sircar regarded this view as definitely wrong and pointed out that, while the Aihole inscription speaks of the destruction of Harsa's elephant force by Pulakeśin II in a fierce battle, Hiuen-tsang says that Harsa gathered troops and summoned generals from all countries and himself led the vast army against Pulakeśin's kingdom, but that he failed to defeat the enemy's forces. Dr. S. R. Das observed that the Cālukya claim may be exaggerated; but Prof. Sircar pointed out that such a view is not supported by the evidence of Hiuen-tsang who was a partisan of Harsa.

III

Monday, the 17th January, 1966.

Present : Prof. D. C. Sircar, M.A., Ph.D. (in the chair); Prof. S. K. Saraswati, M.A.; Sri D. Mukherjee, M.A.; Dr. K. K. Ganguly, M.A., D.Phil.; Dr. A. N. Lahiri, M.A., D.Litt.; Dr. S. R. Das, M.A., D.Phil.; Sri S. Bandyopadhyay, M.A., LL.B.; Sri S. P. Singh, M.A.; Sm. M. Ray, M.A.; Sri R. Chakravarty, M.A.; Sri S. Dutta, M.A.; Sri R. P. Majumdar, M.A.; Sri R. K. Bhattacharya, M.A.; and others.

Proceedings : Sri R. K. Bhattacharyya read his paper entitled 'Principle of Taxation in Ancient India' in which an attempt was made to prove the following points : (1) some kings assumed responsibility for the protection of the life and property of their subjects ; (2) some of them regarded themselves responsible for recovering stolen property from the thieves and, when they failed, compensated the sufferers ; (3) double taxation and exorbitant tax were forbidden ; and (4) educated and pious men were free from the payment of taxes. On being asked by Prof. S K Saraswati, Sri D. Mukherjee and others what he meant by 'double taxation', Sri Bhattacharyya said that only one tax was collected from landed property. Sri R. P. Majumdar drew attention to the evidence of Megasthenes while Sri S. Bandyopadhyay also did not agree with Sri Bhattacharyya. Prof. D. C. Sircar observed that Megasthenes speaks of a land tax in cash in addition to the tax payable in grains and that the Rummimdei pillar inscription also mentions two taxes called *bali* (land tax) and *bhāga* (the king's share of grains). He further pointed out that works like the *Kauśiliya Arthaśāstra* and *Manusmṛti*, on which Sri Bhattacharyya relies, are more or less theoretical and do not give us the correct picture. In Prof Sircar's opinion, the inscriptions and works like the *Rājataranginī* show how the tax burden was heavy in ancient and medieval India and how great was the people's suffering at the hands of the tyrannical despots, even though there were also some benevolent despots among the early Indian rulers.

[The paper has been published in *Ind Rev.*, April, 1966, pp. 143-44.]

2. Prof. D. C Sircar read his paper entitled 'Problem of the Punch-marked Coins' which was meant to controvert the views of Dr. P. L. Gupta expressed in the latter's paper which was the basis of discussion at the Seminar on the subject held recently under the auspices of the Banaras Hindu University. Prof Sircar did not support the ascription of coins discovered at Taxila to the rulers of the Bihar region, who flourished in the 6th century B C or earlier. In his opinion, punch-marked coins did not stop with the Magadha rulers of the 2nd century B C but continued to be manufactured as late as the 5th century A D. He considered it impossible to determine the sources of the various series of punch-marked coins at present since minting was done mostly by goldsmith-lessees, and imitation and private production of the coins were rampant. Prof. Sircar did not accept the ascription of the crescent-on-hill symbol to the Mauryas.

Sri S. Bandyopadhyay pointed out that what Prof Sircar said about the old-fashioned and new-fangled Kārsāpana on the authority of Buddhaghosa's *Visuddhimagga* (5th century A D) is supported by the 4th century work called *Ārigavijjā*.

[The paper has been published in *The Chronology of the Punch-marked Coins*, ed Narain and Gopal, pp. 155 ff.]

3. Sri R. P. Majumdar read his paper on Bhurisr̥ṣṭi or Bhursut in Howrah, in which he referred to Śrīdhara's *Nyāyakandali*, Kṛṣṇamīśra's *Probodhacandrodaya* and Abul Fazl's 'Ain-i-Akbari'. He said that Bhursut is near the Munshīrhat railway station in the Howrah District, though it has been wrongly located in the Hooghly District by some. He further suggested that Sāṅkrāī may be associated with the name of Śaṅkara and Howrah with that of Hevajra. Prof. S. K. Saraswati pointed out that Howrah was unknown before the days of Warren Hastings. Prof. Sircar did not think it possible to derive *Howrah* from *Hevajra*. He also observed that Pargana Bhursut is mentioned in the life of the Bengali poet Bhāratacandra and that it is generally taken to have comprised parts of the Hooghly and Howrah Districts lying on the Damodar.

IV

Monday, the 14th February, 1966.

Present : Prof. D. C. Sircar, M.A., Ph.D. (in the chair); Sri D. Mukherjee, M.A.; Dr. S. R. Banerjee, M.A., D.Phil.; Sri R. K. Bhattacharyya, M.A.; Dr. Sm. B. Bhattacharyya, M.A., Ph.D.; Sm. K. Saha, M.A.; Sm. J. Dasgupta, M.A.; Sri D. K. Nag, M.A.; Sri S. Bandyopadhyay, M.A., LL.B.; Sm. G. Dasgupta, M.A.; Sm. M. Ray, M.A.; Sri R. Chakravarty, M.A.; Sri S. Dutta, M.A.; Sri R. P. Majumdar, M.A.; Sri D. R. Das, M.A.; and others

Proceedings : Prof. D. C. Sircar read a paper on 'Vijayavarman the Viceroy of Gopacandra' in which the following suggestions were offered: (1) The recently published Jayarampur (Balasore District, Orissa) plate of king Gopacandra shows that the expansion of Gauda power towards Orissa began considerably earlier than the days of Śaṅkha (c 600-25 A.D.) whose dominions included Coastal Orissa as far as the Ganjam District. (2) The inscription reveals for the first time the name of *Rājanaka* Vijayavarman who was Gopacandra's viceroy in the Midnapore-Balasore region and was the donor of the grant recorded in the Jayarampur plate. (3) This important fact has been misunderstood by Pandit Satyanarayan Rajaguru, who has published the record, and he has wrongly interpreted the name Vijayavarman as an official designation like *Amātya* and *Visayapati*. (4) The text, translation and illustration of the Jayarampur copper-plate inscription as published by Pandit Rajaguru in the *Orissa Historical Research Journal*, Vol XI, 1963, No. 4, pp. 206 ff., are all defective and useless.

Sri D. Mukherjee agreed with Prof. Sircar that Vijayavarman is a personal name and cannot be an official designation. Sri S. Bandyopadhyay drew attention to Prof. Sircar's interpretation of the official

designation *Kumārāmātya* as 'an *Amātya* enjoying the status of a *Kumāra* (prince of the royal blood)' and observed that other scholars have interpreted the said designation differently. Sri D. Mukherjee, Dr. S. Banerjee, Sri R. K. Chakravarty and Sri R. K. Bhattacharyya also asked whether *Kumārāmātya* could be the designation of a person who was both a *Kumāra* (prince) and an *Amātya*. Prof. Sircar pointed out that, from available evidence, the officers styled *Kumārāmātva* or *Kumāramahāpātra* are found to have belonged to families other than the dynasty of the kings whom they served and that their fathers were not kings. *Mahāsāndhivigrahika-Kumārāmātya-Mahādanḍanāyaka* Hari-seṇa, who was the *Khādyakūṭapākika* of the Gupta emperor Samudra-gupta, was the son of *Mahādanḍanāyaka* Dhruvabhūti who was apparently neither a king nor a scion of the Imperial Gupta or any other royal family.

[The paper has been published in *Indian Studies : Past and Present*, Vol. VII, pp. 123 ff.]

VI

Monday, the 18th April, 1966.

Present : Prof. D. C. Sircar, M.A., Ph.D. (in the chair) ; Sri D. Mukherjee, M.A.; Dr. S. R. Banerjee, M.A., D.Phil.; Sri R. K. Bhattacharyya, M.A.; Dr Sm B. Bhattacharyya, M.A., Ph.D.; Sm. J. Saha, M.A.; Sm. J. Dasgupta, M.A.; Sri D. K. Nag, M.A.; Sri S. Bandyopadhyay, M.A., LL.B.; Prof. S. K. Saraswati, M.A.; Dr. K. K. Ganguly, M.A., D.Phil.; Dr A. N. Lahiri, M.A., D.Litt.; Sri D. C. Bhattacharyya, M.A.; Sm. B. Saraswati, M.A.; Sri M. M. Mukherjee, M.A.; Sm. M. Ray, M.A.; Sri R. P. Majumdar, M.A.; Sm B. Banerjee, M.A.; Sm C. Sengupta, M.A.; Sri D. R. Das, M.A.; and others.

Proceedings : Items of the fifth Monthly Seminar, which had to be postponed due to disturbances, were taken up first, and Prof. D. C. Sircar read his paper on 'The Robbers of the Forest'. The paper sought to prove, on the basis of literary and epigraphical data, that the lives and property of travellers (especially pilgrims and traders) were not safe on the roads through forests and that often the forest-folk (*Āśavī*) like the Kirāta, Śāvara and Pulinda were habitually criminal and lived by the profession of robbery.

Sri D. R. Das drew attention to the many stories about dacoity in Indian literature and wanted to know whether the Kirātas were Himalayan mountaineers. Prof. Sircar referred to M. Bloomfield's article 'On Organised Brigandage in Hindu Fiction' and pointed out that his paper was concerned with robbery habitually committed by

the *Atavī* or foresters who are, in his opinion, mentioned in Rock Edict XIII of Aśoka. He also suggested that Kirāta was originally the name of the Himalayan mountaineers, but later of any aboriginal tribe.

[The paper has been published in *Journ. Or. Inst.*, Vol. XV, pp. 378 ff.]

2. Items of the Sixth Monthly Seminar were then taken up and Sri S. Bandyopadhyay read his paper on 'The Metal and Sub-division of the Viṁśopaka Coin', the author adduced evidence in favour of the views that the Viṁśopaka was one-twentieth of the silver coin in value and was sometimes a copper coin equal to five *voddikas* or *budis* or 120 cowrie-shells, while the *Pāvīśā* was in some cases equal to 5 cowrie-shells and Viṁśopaka to 20 cowrie-shells.

[The paper has been published in *JNSJ*, Vol. XXVIII, pp. 149 ff.]

3. Prof. D. C. Sircar read his paper on 'The Narasiṁha Cult'. The author tried to prove the popularity of the Man-lion incarnation of Viṣṇu about the beginning of the Christian era on the basis of personal names like Siṁhadatta and Siṁharaksita occurring in the Prakrit inscriptions from Sanchi, Mathurā and other places. He also emphasised the occurrence of the Lion or Man-lion in the names of kings belonging to various dynasties, especially the Pallavas of Kāñcī and other early medieval ruling families particularly of South India. Attention was also drawn to the description of king Lakṣmaṇasena of Eastern India as a *Parama-nārasiṁha*.

As regards the origin of the *avatāra* conception, Prof. Sircar emphasised the contribution of the stories of strange animals endowed with mysterious power of help and molestation. Sri S. Bandyopadhyay made some observations in this connection while Sri D. R. Das asked whether totemism played any part in the development of the conception. Prof. Sircar considered the part played by totemism as minor while Dr. K. K. Ganguly was inclined to attach more importance to it. Dr. Ganguly also suggested that the lion was introduced into India not long before Aśoka because the Aśokan artists failed to represent the animal faithfully. Prof. Sircar, who did not agree with Dr. Ganguly, referred to the mention of the lion in the *Rgveda* as well as to the Buddha being called the Lion of the Śākyas in early Pali literature. He was inclined to explain the conventional elements in the artists' representation of the animal to the fact that the artists had little opportunity of observing fierce wild animals like the lion from close quarters.

VII

Monday, the 20th June, 1966.

Present : Prof. D. C. Sircar, M.A., Ph.D. (in the chair) ; Dr. A. N. Lahiri, M.A., D.Litt., Dr. K. K. Ganguly, M.A., D.Phil.; Sri T. N. Chakraborty, M.A., Sri P. C. Majumdar, M.A.; Dr. S. R. Banerjee, M.A., D.Phil.; Sri D. C. Bhattacharyya, M.A.; Sri S. Bandyopadhyay, M.A., LL.B.; Sm. K. Saha, M.A.; Sri R. P. Majumdar, M.A.; Sm. B. Banerjee, M.A.; Sri S. P. Sinha, M.A.; Sm. C. Sengupta, M.A.; Sri A. C. Ray, M.A. Ph.D.; Sri S. Sengupta, M.A.; and others.

Proceedings : An obituary notice on the late Dr J. N. Banerjea was read from the chair by Prof. D. C. Sircar. Those present observed 2 minutes' silence standing. The following resolution was passed for being despatched to the bereaved family :

"The teachers and research scholars associated with the Department of Ancient Indian History and Culture and the Centre of Advanced Study in Ancient Indian History and Culture, University of Calcutta, place on record their deep sense of sorrow at the sad demise of Dr. J. N. Banerjea, an outstanding figure in the field of Indological studies and formerly the Carmichael Professor and Head of the Department of Ancient Indian History and Culture, the Dean of the Faculty of Arts and the Vice-President of the University College of Arts, Calcutta University."

2. Sri S. Bandyopadhyay read a paper on the Pāruttha-drama. He examined the views of different scholars and adduced reasons in support of the suggestion that the Pāruttha-drama, also called Poruttha, etc., was named after a person, who in his opinion is probably called a *Śresthin* of Śrimāla in the *Lekhapaddhati*, and that the coin was not so called because of its Parthian origin as supposed by some writers. Dr. A. N. Lahiri and Prof. D. C. Sircar took part in the discussion on the paper. Prof. Sircar said that the word *śrestha* used in the *Lekhapaddhati* in the description of the Pāruttha-drama, has been explained in his *Indian Epigraphical Glossary* as a mistake for *śresthin*.

3. Prof. D. C. Sircar withheld the reading of his two papers entitled 'The Pāñcāla, Kāmboja and Pāñdu or Pāñdyā Countries' and 'A Chinese Account of India (732 A.D.)' in order to give Dr. A. N. Lahiri time to read his paper and observed that the said papers might be read at the next Monthly Seminar to be held in July 1966.

4. Dr. A. N. Lahiri read his paper on the coins of king Pratāpanārāyana of Kachar, in which he pointed out that the real name of the said king was not Pratāpanārāyana but Indrapratāpanārāyana as is clear from a study of the plaster-casts of the coins received by him

from the British Museum, London. Sri S. Bandyopadhyay and Prof. D. C. Sircar took part in the discussion on Dr. Lahiri's paper and Prof. Sircar congratulated Dr. Lahiri for having successfully read the legends on some of the coins, which are written in the Bengali-Assamese characters, but, as he pointed out, are extremely difficult to decipher in many cases.

VIII

Monday, the 18th July, 1966.

Present : Prof. D. C. Sircar, M.A., Ph.D. (in the chair); Sri D. Mukherjee, M.A.; Dr. K. K. Ganguly, M.A., D.Phil.; Dr. A. N. Lahiri, M.A., D.Litt.; Sri D. K. Biswas, M.A.; Dr. Sm. A. Ray, M.A., D.Phil.; Dr. S. R. Banerjee, M.A., D.Phil.; Sri R. K. Bhattacharyya, M.A.; Dr. Sm. B. Bhattacharyya, M.A., Ph.D.; Sri D. Bhattacharyya, M.A.; Sm. K. Saha, M.A.; Sm. J. Dasgupta, M.A.; Sri S. P. Singh, M.A.; Sm. C. Sengupta, M.A.; Sm. B. Banerjee, M.A.; Sri R. P. Majumdar, M.A.; Sri T. P. Santra, M.A.; Dr. Sm. B. Lahiri, M.A., D.Litt.; Sri S. Bandyopadhyay, M.A., LL.B.; and others.

Proceedings : It was Dr. A. N. Lahiri's turn to read his paper on the coin of *Vīravijayanārāyaṇa*. But Prof. Sircar announced that Sri K. G. Goswami wanted to hear Dr. Lahiri's paper in which he was specially interested since he had himself published two Kachar coins in the *IHQ* in 1926. As Sri Goswami was in a position to attend the Seminar only after dismissing his class, he requested that Dr. Lahiri's paper might be taken up after some other business of the meeting. Dr. Lahiri gladly agreed to read his paper later or in the next Monthly Seminar.

2. Prof. Sircar then enquired whether Sri R. P. Majumdar was present at the meeting, because the latter had expressed his desire to read a paper. But Sri Majumdar was found absent just then.

3. Prof. Sircar next pointed out that he had four papers to be read at the Seminar, viz. (1) *Pāñcāla, Kāmboja, Bāhlika and Pāndu or Pāṇḍya*, (2) A Chinese account of India, 732 A.D., (3) Early Western Satraps and the Date of the *Periplus*, and (4) *Śrēṣṭha* as a *Tadbhava* Word. He invited the members to express their opinion as to which of the four papers should be read and it was found that Sri S. Bandyopadhyay was more interested in the paper entitled 'Śrēṣṭha as a *Tadbhava* Word' while Dr. A. N. Lahiri expressed his interest in the paper on the date of the *Periplus*. It was therefore decided that both the papers would be read one after the other.

Prof. Sircar then read the paper on *śreshtha* as a *tadbhava* word, in which he wanted to prove, that, in the medieval records both epigraphic and literary, the word *śreshtha* was sometimes used in the sense of *śreshthin* or a banker. This he was inclined to explain by suggesting that *śreshthin* was modified to *seth* or *sejh* which was re-Sanskritised by some medieval writers as *śreshtha*. He also offered comments on the views of Dr. L. Gopal and the late Prof. V. S. Agrawala on the interpretation of a passage in the *Lekhapaddhati* and interpreted *śrimat-pāraupatha-raukya-ghṛita* and *haftavyavahārikya-pracalita* respectively as 'accepted in cash payment by the illustrious banker Pāraupatha' and 'prevalent among the body of merchants in the market'.

The paper evoked considerable interest among the members, several of whom expressed their views on the subject. Dr. K. K. Ganguly wanted to know whether there were other cases of similar re-Sanskritisation. Prof. Sircar answered in the affirmative and pointed out Sans. *Kṛṣṇa* modified in Kannada as *Kannara* which was re-Sanskritised as *Karṇa* and Sans. *Kṛṣṇa*=Bengali *Keṣṭa* re-Sanskritised as *Kṛṣṇa* (cf. also Sans. *Jayavana*=Kashmiri *Zevan* re-Sanskritised as *Jivana*). Dr. S. Banerjee thought that Kannara may not be derived from *Kṛṣṇa* but from *Karnāṭa*; but Prof. Sircar did not consider the suggestion acceptable. Dr. Banerjee further pointed out that, though *śreshtha* may have been used in the sense of *śreshthin*, it need not be taken as a case of re-Sanskritisation. Sri R. K. Bhattacharya also observed that *śreshtha* is a Sanskrit word. But Prof. Sircar contended that *śreshtha* in the sense of *śreshthin* (not recognised in the lexicons) is not a pure Sanskrit word. Sri S. Bandyopadhyay suggested that *raukya* in the *Lekhapaddhati* passage may be a mistake for *raukma* or gold. But Prof. Sircar thought the suggestion unsuitable for the passage which, as he pointed out on a query from Sri D. Mukherjee, was *Pāraupatha-raukya-ghṛita*, *raukya*, in his opinion, being a Sanskritised form of *rok* prevalent in many of the modern India languages.

4. Prof. Sircar's paper entitled 'Early Western Satraps and the Date of the *Periplus*' was then read. He offered comments on the views of Dr. Pirenne and Dr. Macdowall assigning the composition of the work during Nahapāna's reign respectively to 225-30 A.D. and 120-30 A.D., both depending on the identification of Nahapāna with Mambarus mentioned in the *Periplus*. In Prof. Sircar's opinion, 'there is no justification in identifying Nahapāna who had his capital at Broach with Mambarus ruling from Minnagara which lay between Broach and Ujjayinī according to Ptolemy's Geography. He upheld Rapson's views that the early Western Satraps were originally vassals of the Kusāṇas of Kaniṣka's house and that Nahapāna ruled in 119-24 A.D. and suggested, on the basis of internal evidence, that the *Periplus* was composed about 80 A.D. after the death of Gondophares

but before the expansion of Kusāṇa-Śaka power in the Lower Indus valley, before the establishment of the Kārdamaka-Śaka capital at Ujjayinī and also before the extension of Kanīṣka's rule in Afghanistan and the transference of the Kuṣāṇa capital to Peshwar.

As the time was up, discussion on the paper were reserved for the next monthly seminar.

[The paper has been published in *Numismatic Chronicle*, 1966, pp. 241 ff.]

IX

Monday, the 22nd August, 1966.

Present : Prof. D. C. Sircar, M.A., Ph.D. (in the chair) ; Dr. A. N. Lahiri, M.A., D.Litt.; Sri R. K. Bhattacharyya, M.A.; Sm. K. Saha, M.A.; Sri S. Bandyopadhyay, M.A., LL.B.; Sri S. P. Singh, M.A.; Sri R. K. Chakravarty, M.A.; Sri R. P. Majumdar, M.A.; Dr. D. R. Das, M.A., D.Phil.; and others.

Proceedings : On the recording of the discussion on the papers entitled 'Śreyśha as a *Tadbhava* Word' and 'The Early Western Satraps and the Date of the *Periplus*', Sri R. K. Bhattacharya reiterated his view that Śreyśha is a Sanskrit word in the sense of Śreysthin, while Dr. A. N. Lahiri objected to the view that Kanīṣka extended his power over Afghanistan some years after he had consolidated his position in India on the following grounds : (1) Kanīṣka's coins may be divided into two groups, viz. those bearing legend in the Greek language and script and those bearing legend in the Greek script but in the Iranian language; (2) the first of the two groups appears to be issued in Bactria where the Greeks reigned for a long time and Greek influence prevailed; (3) therefore Kanīṣka probably ruled over Bactria during the earlier part of his life.

Prof. Sircar did not agree with Sri Bhattacharya and Dr. Lahiri. He pointed out that Śreyśha is found in a few literary and epigraphic records in the sense of Śreysthin, but that it is not recognised in any lexicon in that sense. As regards Kanīṣka's rule in India and Afghanistan, Prof. Sircar drew attention to the *Age of Imperial Unity* in which he had emphasised the discovery of the earliest of Kanīṣka's inscriptions in U.P. He also pointed out that Iranianism was more pronounced in Afghanistan than in India, so that the coins with the legend in the Iranian language need not be associated especially with India. Moreover, Prof. Sircar observed, we have not yet been able to solve certain problems relating to the Kanīṣka group of kings, e.g., the monetary issues of Kanīṣka II and the absence of the Prakrit version of the legend on their coins. He further observed that the

Periplus reference to the warlike Bactrians ruled by their own king can only be to the Kusāṇas before the consolidation of their power in India and the transference of their capital to Puruṣapura or Peshawar.

2. Sri R. P. Majumdar read his paper on the Gangetic trade route through Howrah, in which he presented certain geographical names traced in some medieval Bengali and Sanskrit works together with their tentative identification with modern localities in the lower Bhāgirathi valley. A general comment of the members present was that Sri Majumdar did not say anything about the trade route. It was also pointed out that Hijli, located in the 24 Parganas District, actually lay in the Midnapore District. Sri Majumdar replied that there are several places bearing the name Hijli.

3. Next Dr. A. N. Lahiri read his paper on a coin which is preserved in the Indian Museum, Calcutta, and was issued by a ruler named Viravijayanārāyaṇa. Dr. Lahiri said that he has succeeded in deciphering the legend on the coin, which baffled celebrated numismatists like V. A. Smith and R. D. Banerji. According to Dr. Lahiri's reading, Viravijayanārāyaṇa, who issued the coin in Śaka 1442 (1520 A.D.) defeated a king of Kachar, who claimed to be the descendant of Hācēṅgaśi, and was a ruler of the north-eastern region of India. Prof. Sircar observed that the reading of the dates on the obverse and reverse still remains a problem and that Viravijayanārāyaṇa may have been a vassal of the Kachar kings and succeeded in raising himself to the throne of Kachar at his master's expense.

[The paper has been published in *Ind. Mus. Bul.*, January, 1967, pp. 24 ff.]

4. Prof. Sircar then read his paper entitled 'Pāñcāla, Kāmboja, Bāhlika and Pāṇḍu-Pāṇḍya'. He pointed out that the late medieval work *Saktisāṅgama Tantra* does not mention the well-known ancient Indian territory of Pāñcāla or Pāñcāla lying in the Bareilly-Farrukhabad region of U.P., but locates Pāñcāla in Southern Kashmir and the Western Punjab and that this location is supported by what the work says about the Kāmboja, Bāhlika and Pāṇḍu or Pāṇḍya countries. In Prof. Sircar's opinion, the name of the Bareilly-Farrukhabad region as Pāñcāla was forgotten in the late medieval period and the ancient name was then applied to the valleys of the present Pir Panjal range and Pir Panjal river in the Kashmir-Punjab region, *Pāñjāl* really standing for an earlier *Pāñcāla*.

Dr. A. N. Lahiri observed that the old name Pāñcāla applied to the Bareilly-Farrukhabad region may not have been forgotten in the late medieval period, but that the migration of a section of the Pāñcālas to the west may have been responsible for the nomenclature of the valleys of the Pir Panjal. Prof. Sircar said that he has not noticed

any reference to the Bareilly-Farrukhabad region as Pāñcāla in the late medieval literature, but admitted the possibility of the Pāñcālas having an ancient settlement in the region of Southern Kashmir and the Western Punjab. In this connection, he drew attention to the settlements of the Kurus and the Uttara-Kurus and of the Madras and the Uttara-Madras.

X

Monday, the 12th September, 1966.

Present : Prof. D. C. Sircar, M.A., Ph.D. (in the chair); Sri D. Mukherjee, M.A.; Dr. K. K. Ganguly, M.A., D.Phil.; Dr. A. N. Lahiri, M.A., D.Litt.; Dr. Sm. A. Ray, M.A., D.Phil.; Sri R. K. Bhattacharyya, M.A.; Sm. K. Saha, M.A.; Sri S. Bandyopadhyay, M.A., LL.B.; Sri S. P. Singh, M.A.; Sri R. Chakravarty, M.A.; Sm. C. Sen-gupta, M.A.; Sm. B. Bandyopadhyay, M.A.; Sri R. P. Majumdar, M.A.; Dr. D. R. Das, M.A., D.Phil.; Sri A. K. Bhattacharya, M.A.; Sri C. D. Chatterjee, M.A.; Sm. S. Sinha, M.A.; Sri R. K. Basu, M.A.; and others.

Proceedings : Prof. Sircar referred to the death of Dr. Louis Renou, Professor of Sanskrit at the Sorbonne (University of Paris) and one of the front-rank Sanskritists of Europe, and of Dr. V. S. Agrawala, Professor of Art and Architecture at the Banaras Hindu University, one of the most prominent Indologists of India, and paid tribute to the departed scholars. All persons present condoled the death of the savants by standing in silence for two minutes.

2. Sri D. K. Biswas was expected to read a paper on the worship of Skanda and the Sun-god. But he was not present at the meeting.

3. Sri S. Bandyopadhyay was then requested to read his paper on some inscribed copper coins from Kauśāmbī. In this paper, Sri Bandyopadhyay examined the views of K. D. Bajpai and R. R. Tripathi, the former attributing the issues to a Gāndhika (perfumer) corporation and the latter to the clan of the Gādhis or Gādhikas, and supported Bajpai's reading and interpretation of the coin legend. He also discussed the question of the importance of the said coins in determining the antiquity of the inscribed coinage of Kauśāmbī. Sri C. D. Chatterjee observed that, if the coins belonged to Kauśāmbī, they should have borne the calf symbol; but Dr. A. N. Lahiri and Prof. Sircar did not agree with the view. Dr. D. R. Das, supported by Dr. K. K. Ganguly, pointed out that Buddhaghosa's *Visuddhimagga* does not mention the issue of coins by such people as the perfumers, and Sri C. D. Chatterjee was also inclined to ascribe the coins to the

Gādhi people. But Sri Bandyopadhyay drew attention to the *Negamā* coins issued by a guild of merchants and Prof. Sircar pointed out that Buddhaghosa refers actually to the minting of coins by a master goldsmith. Prof. Sircar further pointed out that, if the name of the Gādhibas is read in the legend, the said people should have issued the coins as a republican clan, but that the evidence at our disposal speaks of them as ruled by a king. Prof. Sircar therefore supported the view that the coins were issued on behalf of a perfumers' guild.

[This paper has been published in *JNSI*, Vol. XXVIII, pp. 153 ff.]

4. Prof. D. C. Sircar then read his paper entitled 'A Chinese Account of India (732 A.D.)' in which he tried to show that, like most other foreign accounts of India, the said Chinese account of the eighth century A.D. contains mistakes and half-truths. Prof. Sircar specially criticised the views of R. S. Sharma that the said Chinese account of 732 A.D. proved the breakdown of slavery and emergence of serfdom in India in the eighth century when the inhabitants of a village granted by a king were bound to serve the donees as serfs as they had been so long serving the king. Prof. Sircar pointed out that, even when a village is stated to have been granted together with its people, the villagers were advised by the king to pay to the donee whatever dues they were formerly paying to the State and that the serfs were never tax-payers like the said villagers. He also said that the system of paying salary to high officers by means of *jāgīrs* is recognised by the pre-Gupta work *Manusmīti*, so that the said system cannot be associated with the so-called emergence of serfdom in the eighth century.

Sri C. D. Chatterjee referred to the pitiable condition of slaves as revealed by the Pali literature and Dr. Lahiri pointed to the difference between the position of a slave in ancient India and in Europe. But Prof. Sircar observed that the question under study was really of a serf and not of a slave.

[The paper has been published in *Journ. Ind. Hist.*, August, 1966, pp. 351 ff.]

XI

Monday, the 16th January, 1967.

Present : Prof. D. C. Sircar, M.A., Ph.D. (in the chair) ; Sri D. Mukherjee, M.A.; Dr K. K. Ganguly, M.A., D.Phil.; Dr. A. N. Lahiri, M.A., D.Litt.; Sri D. K. Biswas, M.A.; Dr. D. R. Das, M.A., D.Phil.; Dr. S. R. Das, M.A., D.Phil.; Sri R. K. Bhattacharyya, M.A.; Dr. Sm. B. Bhattacharyya, M.A., Ph.D.; Sm. K. Saha, M.A.; Sm. J. Dasgupta, M.A.; Sri S. Bandyopadhyay, M.A., LL.B.; Sri S. P. Singh, M.A.; Sri

R. P. Majumdar, M.A.; Dr. N. N. Bhattacharyya, M.A., D.Phil.; Sm. S. Bhattacharya, M.A.; and others.

Proceedings : Sri D. K. Biswas read his paper on the worship of Skanda with special reference to the cock's association with the said god as well as with the Sun-god. The Puranic and other literary sources as also certain stone sculptures and some medieval Rajput paintings, analysed by him, suggested, in his opinion, that the cock was connected with Skanda-Kärttikeya and was also associated with the sun and, as such, the cock motif indicated Skanda-Kärttikeya's solar association.

Dr. N. N. Bhattacharyya observed that Kärttikeya sprang from Skanda and therefore the identification of the former with the latter was doubtful. But Prof. Sircar remarked that, in Indian literary tradition, Kärttikeya and Skanda are generally represented as identical and that the question whether Skanda and Kärttikeya were originally different deities was irrelevant in the context of Sri Biswas's subject of discussion. Dr. D. R. Das wanted to know the antiquity of Skanda's identification with Kärttikeya. In Sri Biswas's opinion, it was about the 1st century A.D. Dr. A. N. Lahiri referred to the Kuṣāṇa coins whereon Skanda-Kärttikeya was represented. Prof. Sircar pointed out that the name Kärttikeya does not occur on the coins. He admitted, however, that the Skanda-Kärttikeya cult could have been slightly influenced by the solar cult. Sri Biswas said that, in Yāskā's *Nirukta*, the cock's association with the sun is emphasised and that the bird's association with Kärttikeya might be taken to suggest a link between the sun and Kärttikeya. Sri D. Mukherjee, however, observed that it could hardly be proved from one or two stray references that the cock was exclusively connected with the sun. Sri R. K. Bhattacharyya also doubted the interpretation of *kukkuṭa* as 'a cock' and said that it could mean any bird. But Sri Biswas quoted the *Nirukta* to prove that the expression *kukkuṭa* certainly stood for a cock since it is represented as the announcer of the day. He also referred to the *Matsya Purāna* in which Kärttikeya's emblems are described separately as *maya* and *kukkuṭa*.

[The paper has been published in *JAIH*, Vol. I, Parts 1-2, pp. 9 ff.]

2. Sri S. Bandyopadhyay then read his paper on the Kṣatrapaka coins. He pointed out that Rapson's opinion regarding the absence of the word *Kṣatrapa* in Sanskrit and Prakrit literature requires modification. As regards the denotation of the coin-name Kṣatrapaka, he suggested that Kṣatrapaka and Rudradāmaka were synonymous and accepted the view that they stood for the silver issues of the Śaka rulers of Western India. He also suggested alternatively that the Kṣatrapaka coin might have a wider denotation than the Rudradāmaka,

named after Rudradāman I of the Śaka house of Western India. Prof. Sircar, however, observed that Kṣatrapaka and Rudradāmaka were different names of the silver coins of the Śakas of Western India and their imitations and that Kṣatrapaka should not be regarded as different from Rudradāmaka. This, in his opinion, is suggested by the fact that the coins of different Śaka rulers of Western India belong to the same type and were undistinguishable from one another while the coins of the Kṣatrapas of different areas were of totally different types and could not have the same name. Sri Sarjug Prasad Singh wanted to know the difference between Kāhāpaṇa and Nīlakahāpaṇa referred to by Sri Bandyopadhyay in his paper and, in the discussion that followed, Prof. Sircar pointed out that Nīlakahāpaṇa was the old and old-type Kāhāpaṇa.

[The paper has been published in *JAIH*, Vol. I, Parts 1-2, pp. 30 ff.]

3 Sri R. P. Majumdar read his paper on the *Deśāvalīvṛtti* and tried to identify some places and rivers mentioned in it.

XII

Monday, the 13th February, 1967.

Present : Prof. D. C. Sircar M.A., Ph.D. (in the chair); Dr. K. K. Ganguly, M.A., D.Phil.; Sri T. N. Chakraborty, M.A.; Dr. D. R. Das, M.A., D.Phil.; Sri R. K. Bhattacharyya, M.A.; Sm. K. Saha, M.A.; Sri S. Bandyopadhyay, M.A., LL.B.; Dr. N. N. Bhattacharyya, M.A., D.Phil.; Sri S. P. Singh, M.A.; Sri R. K. Chakravarty, M.A.; Sri R. P. Majumdar, M.A.; Sm. S. Bhattacharyya, M.A.; Sm. B. Bandyopadhyay, M.A.; Sri B. B. Chakrabarty; and others.

Proceedings : Dr. N. N. Bhattacharyya read his paper entitled 'Lord of Women', in which he referred to the Itu cult, and tried to explain the reason why at Chinsurah (West Bengal) the god Kārtikeya is worshipped exclusively by the prostitutes. He suggested that Kārtikeya was originally worshipped by women as a god of vegetation and fertility and that the very use of the 'Garden of Adonis' in the ritual enables us to classify Kārtikeya with gods like Osiris, Adonis, Tammuj, Attis and others who represented the yearly decay and revival of life, especially of vegetable life. In the worship of Adonis, men took the part of the said god while women stood for his consort Aphrodite. The Aphrodite of Kārtikeya at Chinsurah was presumably Sarasvatī who was also worshipped by the prostitutes, not as a goddess of learning, but because, in popular belief, she was unmarried and lacked in fidelity.

At the outset there were comments on the journalistic and inappropriate title of Dr. Bhattacharyya's paper from Sri S. Bandyopadhyay and Prof. D. C. Sircar. Sri R. P. Majumdar wanted to know why Dr. Bhattacharyya connected the ritual of Itu worship with that of Kārttikeya. Dr. Bhattacharyya replied that, the 'Garden of Adonis' being the common ritual-factor in the case of both, the one had an obvious link with the other. Prof. Sircar wanted to know what 'the Garden of Adonis' really was in this case. Dr. Bhattacharyya observed that it was represented by baskets or pots filled with earth, in which wheat, barley, lettuces, fennel, etc., are sown and tended exclusively by women. Sri D. Mukherjee then said that the most important feature of the myth of Adonis was his death and resurrection and in the case of Kārttikeya we have no such conception. In reply, Dr. Bhattacharyya said that, from a story found in the *Mahābhārata*, it appeared that this god had to undergo some form of resurrection of the Adonis type, since he emerged from the body of an older deity called Skanda who was pierced by Indra's thunderbolt. Dr. K. K. Ganguly observed that the association of Kārttikeya with Sarasvatī was interesting because he found, in some South Indian sculptures of the goddess, the representation of a peacock which was the symbol of Kārttikeya. Prof. Sircar observed that Skanda-Kārttikeya is a composite deity and, even accepting some extraneous influences on him, Dr. Bhattacharyya's suggestion regarding the god's relation with Adonis and other deities of Western Asia appears to be far-fetched.

2. Sri S. Bandyopadhyay then read his paper on the *Mayūrāṇīka* *Dīnāra*, in which he pointed out that the interpretation of this expression as the peacock-type coins of Kumāragupta I was not accurate since the peacock was represented on other coins, such as the Horeseman and Tiger-slayer types of the gold coins of Kumāragupta I, some silver coins of Kumāragupta I and Skandagupta, and some coins of the Hūnas and others. Sri T. N. Chakraborty said that *Dīnāra* was hitherto known as a gold coin and asked how Sri Bandyopadhyay connected the name with silver coins. Prof. Sircar observed that the name of the standard coin was generally used in the sense of 'money', and then it was applied to the coin of any metal. In this connexion, he said that *Dīnāra* stood for cowrie-shells, as in the *Rājatarāigīni*. Sri D. Mukherjee wanted to know whether there was any coin on which the coin-name occurred. Prof. Sircar referred to the Yaudheya copper coins bearing the coin-name *Dramma* and Sultān Mahmūd's coins called *Tatka* and *Dīnār* in the legend, while Sri S. Bandyopadhyay mentioned the *Kidāra* coins issued by the *Kidāra* Kuṣānas.

3. Sri R. P. Majumdar then read his note on *Kalikātī*, in which he referred to the mention of the name in different literary works. Prof. Sircar observed that Sri Majumdar's sources are not earlier than

Job Charnock's time, since some scholars reject the occurrence of Kalkattā in the 'Ain-i-Akbarī. He characterised the mention of Kalikātā, Sāntipura and Nadīhā (Nadia) in the *Bhavisya Purāṇa* as a modern interpolation.

4. Then Sri S. P. Singh read his paper on the Puri-Kusāṇa Coins. He referred to the word *tarika* inscribed on some such coins, which Allan wrongly read as, *tarika* or *lerika*. Cunningham regarded Tanka to be a silver coin equal to quarter of a Kārṣāpana. Sri Singh pointed out that the word *tarika* meant 'a minted coin' and cited some references from literature. Prof. Sircar pointed out that *tarika* originally meant an instrument for engraving the symbols and legends on the dies for fabricating coins, but was later on used to denote a coin. He said that the silver coins issued by Sultān Mahmūd from Lahore in 1018 and 1019 A.D. were called *Tanka* which was subsequently used for the silver coinage of the Muslim rulers of Delhi.

XIII

Monday, the 13th March, 1967.

Present : Prof. D. C. Sircar, M.A., Ph.D. (in the chair); Sri D. Mukherjee, M.A.; Dr. K. K. Ganguly, M.A., D. Phil.; Dr. A. N. Lahiri, M.A., D.Litt.; Dr. D. R. Das, M.A., D.Phil.; Sri R. K. Bhattacharya, M.A.; Dr. Sm. B. Bhattacharyya, M.A., Ph.D.; Dr. Sm. K. Saha, M.A., D.Phil.; Sm. J. Dasgupta, M.A.; Sri S. Bandyopadhyay, M.A., LL.B.; Dr. N. N. Bhattacharyya, M.A., D.Phil.; Sri S. P. Singh, M.A.; Sri R. P. Majumdar, M.A.; and others.

Proceedings : Prof. Sircar read two papers, the first of which was on the Rhinoceros-slayer Type of Kumāragupta's gold coins. He said how, in 1948, Sri M. M. Nagar wanted to prove that, since the rhinoceros is found only in Assam, this type of Kumāragupta's coins indicates his visit to Assam. The same was the approach of later writers including B. N. Mukherjee. Prof. Sircar pointed out that the very approach was wrong because the existence of the said animal may not have been confined in early times to areas where they are now found. On the basis of Al-Bīrūnī's *Kitābul Hind*, he proved that the rhinoceros was abundant in the valley of the Ganges. Sri D. Mukherjee also said that the rhinoceros was found in the Punjab in the medieval period since the Mughul emperor Bābur was in the habit of hunting them in that region. Dr. D. R. Das pointed out that the late Sri N. N. Dasgupta published an article in the *Bhārata-varṣa* (Bengali), in which he criticised B. N. Mukherjee's views on similar grounds.

[The paper has been published in *JNSI*, Vol. XXVIII, pp. 211 ff.]

2. Prof. Sircar then read another paper on Tāmra-rāṣṭra. In the introduction to the *Nāmarūpapariccheda* by Anuruddha, the famous Buddhist scholar of the eleventh century, it is stated that he was born at the city of Kāverī within Kāñcipura in Jambu-dvīpa and that he dwelt at times in Tāmra-rāṣṭra in Jambu-dvīpa and at times in the Mūlasoma-vihāra in Laṅkā-dvīpa or Ceylon. The colophon of the *Paramatthaviniiccaya* of the same author also states that he was born at Kāverinagara in the rāṣṭra of Kāñcipura and that he was living at the city of Tañja (also written Rāja and Gaja) in Tāmra-rāṣṭra. The rāṣṭra or district of Kāñcipura, Kāñcivara, or Kāñjivara is no doubt the well-known Conjeevaram near Madras and the city of Kāverī may be Kāveripura in the Coimbatore District or Kāveripatam in the Salem District or Kāveripak in the North Arcot District. The name of the place where Anuruddha resided in Jambu-dvīpa or India is given as the city of Tañja which may be modern Tañjavūr or Tanjore situated on a branch of the Kāverī, about 180 miles to the south-west of Madras. However, just as the city of Kāverī has been located in the rāṣṭra of Kāñci, the city of Tañja has been placed in the rāṣṭra of Tāmra. Although Tāmra-rāṣṭra as the name of an Indian district is unknown from any other source, names like Tāmra-dvīpa, Tāmraparṇa and Tāmraparṇī denoting Ceylon are well known. But Tāmra-rāṣṭra in which the city of Tañja was situated was a locality in Jambu-dvīpa or India proper and not in Laṅkā-dvīpa or Ceylon. Unfortunately, in South India, the only geographical name associated with the word tāmra seems to be that of the river Tāmraparṇī, modern Tambaravari, flowing through the Tirunelveli District, a second stream of the same name flowing westwards through the old Travancore State. The valleys of these two rivers are, however, considerably away from the Tanjore region. There was another place of the name of Tañjai, otherwise called Tañjakkūr, in the district of Māṇanādu near Madurai. It is more probable that this Tañjai has been represented as Tañja in the district of Tāmra in the Pali work.

Sri R. P. Majumdar said that, considering the views of a certain French scholar, Jambu-dvīpa, mentioned in the paper, might stand for Eastern India. Prof. Sircar did not accept the suggestion.

3. Sri R. P. Majumdar then read his paper on the coin of Viravijayanārāyaṇa, in which he wanted to read *Hācēṅgānā* in the coin-legend in place of what Dr. A. N. Lahiri had read previously as *Hācēṅgasā*. Dr. Lahiri said that, on the coins of Yaśopratāpanārāyaṇa and Indrapratāpanārāyaṇa, the expression *Hācēṅgasā-varīṣṭa* can be distinctly read. Further, on the coins of Viravijayanārāyaṇa, he is described as *Hācēṅgasā-śakti-mardana*, i.e., the subduer of the Hācēṅgasā dynasty of Cachar.

4. Sri R. P. Majumdar next read his second paper entitled 'Some Interesting Features of Cārvāka Philosophy' in which he

discussed some early references to Cārvākism and its so-called founder, Bṛhaspati. Sri R. K. Bhattacharya pointed out that, while some references to the Cārvākas might be found in the *Mahābhārata* and *Rāmāyaṇa*, the Vedas contain no reference to them. He was inclined to believe that the sage Bṛhaspati and Brihaspati, the founder of the Cārvāka philosophy, were different persons. Prof. D C. Sircar said that, in the present state of our knowledge, it was not possible to settle this problem, though Bṛhaspati was one of the greatest exponents of Cārvāka philosophy. Commenting on Sri Bhattacharyya's observations, Sri Majumdar said that some references to the Cārvāka way of thinking could be traced in the 10th *Mandala* of the R̥gveda. He also said that Bharadvāja, regarded as the son of Bṛhaspati, was probably a prominent figure in this atheistic movement.

5. Sri S. P. Singh read his paper on a seal found from a village of Bihar and also exhibited the seal to the scholars present.

Prof. Sircar observed that the seal was shaped like a Stūpa not for any religious motive but for an easy grip. Dr. K. K. Ganguly suggested that the knob on top of the seal was for suspending it with a fine cord. Prof. Sircar disagreed with the suggestion. Dr. Ganguly wanted to know the age of the seal. Sri Singh referred it to the age of the cast coins with which it was found. In Prof. Sircar's opinion, the seal many be earlier than the beginning of the Christian era.

REVIEWS OF BOOKS

I

SĀNKARADEVĀ AND HIS TIMES : EARLY HISTORY OF THE VAISNAVA FAITH AND MOVEMENT IN ASSAM by Maheśwar Neog, published by Department of Publication, Gauhati University, 1965 ; royal xviii+400 pages with 1 Map ; price Rs. 25.00.

Śaṅkaradeva has long been recognised in knowledgeable circles in India as belonging to the front rank of our long line of medieval saints. Modern Assam was the receptacle of his lifelong activities and very naturally the people of the area were the direct beneficiary of the faith he evolved and preached and the socio-religious rites, patterns of behaviour and institutions he built up by the labour of a life time. But, because of the universal quality of the faith he evolved and preached, the ideal of good life that he held aloft and the new direction he gave to the medieval *Bhakti* movement, he comes to acquire a pan-Indian significance and to join the band of re-vitalisers of medieval Indian life and thought of which Nānak and Kabir, Rāmānanda and Caitanya, to mention only four of them, were the representatives and spokesmen.

Yet unfortunately the fact remains that, until recent times, Śaṅkaradeva's name and his works were not very widely known outside of Assam. This has been very largely due to the non-availability of reading material about him in non-Assamese Indian and in modern European languages. In recent years more than one small treatise, in Assamese and in English, have been published; but the fare has been too meagre to whet the appetite of those who want to know more and more about him. Indeed, there has been so far no comprehensive account measuring the greatness of his life and the significance of his activities in the context of his times and the extent of the impact he made on his people. Prof. Maheśwar Neog's book is therefore most welcome; indeed it has been prepared and published none too soon. It is undoubtedly the first competent and exhaustive, comprehensive and fully documented account that affords a detailed survey of the life and activities of Śaṅkaradeva and his times, with a full analysis and appraisement of the contributions of Śaṅkaradeva to the Vaiṣṇava faith and movement, to Assamese literature, art and music and to Assamese society. The book amounts, in fact, to be an excellent academic review of the medieval Hindu life and culture of Assam as they expressed themselves through the *Ekaśāraṇiyā-dharma*

and Vaiṣṇavism as interpreted by Saṅkaradeva. Prof. Neog has certainly made an important contribution to the study of medieval Indian history and culture.

The entire narrative of the book is organised under twelve major Chapter-heads of which the first gives a critical and exhaustive account of the sources and source-materials on which the author bases his account and which he draws upon. It takes into account all relevant and significant biographical and historical works, in Assamese and Sanskrit, as well as the more important modern works on Saṅkaradeva and his times. This is followed by two Chapters devoted to a review of the political and economic, social and religious background of his main theme, a Chapter that affords a very clear glimpse into the social context of Saṅkaradeva's life and work. Chapter four, which is the next, gives an account of the early history of the Vaiṣṇava faith and movement, in course of which the author discusses in some detail the life and personality of Saṅkaradeva and the apostolates of his successor *Gurus*. Their chief followers and other *sattriyas* and the schism in the Order are also brought into the discussion. This is followed in two successive Chapters by a critical consideration of the literary works of Saṅkaradeva and the doctrines of the faith as evolved by him and recorded in his doctrinal work, the *Bhaktiratnākara*. Prof. Neog proceeds next to discuss Saṅkaradeva's philosophical views, his contribution to dramatic art and technique, to Vaiṣṇava music and dance and to the art of manuscript preparation and illumination. The book closes with two very important Chapters, one on Neo-Vaiṣṇava institutions and practices, and another on the social implications of Saṅkaradeva's *Bhakti* movement. The book is provided with a comprehensive and classified Bibliography and Index.

Every chapter of this book bears ample evidence of careful and diligent scholarship inspired by a genuine love for the subject itself. The narration of facts and their analysis is everywhere objective and critical, and the mass of details that he brings to bear on them, is almost overwhelming. There is hardly any observation or statement anywhere in the book, which is not supported by evidence. One can therefore say with some amount of certainty that this book will continue to remain as the most useful standard work on the subject for a long time to come.

Knowing that Prof. Neog has the equipment and academic competence to do the thing, one only wishes he had made an attempt to present his narrative, either woven into the warp and woof of his already organised Chapters or in a separate Chapter towards the end, against the larger canvas of the *Bhakti* movement of medieval India, noting and explaining the similarities and the differences. One also wishes that he had noticed and explained the extent to which Saṅkaradeva's Vaiṣṇavism differed from that of contemporary Bengal and

Orissa, and how and why the cult of Rādhā and all that went with it, found no place in the Vaiṣṇavism of Assam. This would perhaps have given his account a greater depth and wider horizon for the understanding of the significance of Śāṅkaradeva and his times.

But one must feel thankful for what Prof. Neog has given us and not try to find fault with what he did not seek to do.

SM. AMITA RAY

II

THE AGE OF THE KUṢĀNAS—A NUMISMATIC STUDY by Bhaskar Chattopadhyay, published by Punthi Pustak, Calcutta, 1967; pages 287 with a script chart, a symbol chart and five Plates.

The present work of Dr. Chattopadhyay is substantially the thesis which earned for him the degree of Doctor of Philosophy (D.Phil.) of the University of Calcutta. It is a welcome addition to the works on the history of the Kuṣānas, and the author deserves our congratulations. As is apparent from the title, the book under review is essentially a numismatic study, though Dr. Chattopadhyay has frequently utilised, quite justifiably, literary and archaeological sources.

After giving a broad outline of the history of the Kuṣānas in the Introduction, the learned author has divided his subject into ten Chapters, the titles of which indicate their scope—I. The Yue-chi and the Rise of the Kuṣānas; II. Early Kuṣāna Coinage; III. Development of the Kuṣāna Coinage; IV. Last Phase of the Kuṣāna Coinage; V. Representation of King on Kuṣāna Coinage; VI. Deities on Kuṣāna Coinage; VII. Metrology of the Kuṣāna Coinage; VIII. Legends and Symbols on Kuṣāna Coins; IX. Provenance of the Kuṣāna Coins; and X. Indian Heritage of Foreign Numismatic Traditions. There are also a Bibliography and an Index. Description of the Plates has been given in a Key.

The history of the Kuṣānas is full of controversial problems and Dr. Chattopadhyay's study and analysis of the types, devices, legends, metrology, fabric and style have led him to certain conclusions of his own. He has shown that the Kuṣāna coinage is not merely one of the sources for the history of the Kuṣānas, but is in itself an independent field of study; and, in doing this, he has exhibited a diligent collection of data and an intelligent representation of facts. There are, however, omission of important evidence and other blemishes (often minor), a few of which are noted here so that they may be removed at the time of revising the book for a second edition.

The author should have referred to the discussion on the history and coinage of the Kuṣānas in *A Comprehensive History of India*,

Vol. II, ed. K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, Calcutta, 1957, pp. 222-54 and 788-96 while enumerating the contributions of earlier writers in the Introduction (pp. ix-xii), especially because he has utilised it in the body of his work (p. 55).

In their discussion on the coin types of Kaniṣka I, R. B. Whitehead (*Catalogue of the Coins in the Punjab Museum*, Lahore, Vol. I, 1914, pp. 186-94) and J. N. Banerjea (in *A Comprehensive History of India*, *op. cit.*, pp. 236-43 and 788-90) did not include an interesting type of copper coin which has, on the reverse, the legend *ODYOBOTY CAKAMA[N]*, taken to stand for *Advaya Buddha Śākyamuni* (Gardner, *The Catalogue of the Coins of Greek and Scythic Kings of Bactria and India*, London, 1886, pp. lxvi, 132, 190 and Pl. XXVII. 2). This should not have escaped the notice of Dr. Chattopadhyay. According to Bendall, as recorded by Gardner, the full form of the word *Advaya* is *Advayavādin* meaning 'he who speaks of the one [knowledge]' (*ibid.*, p. xli). The word may, however, also be taken as *advaya* meaning 'incomparable' and referring to the Lord Buddha whose figure accompanies the legend.

Different explanations for the legend *Osho* have been referred to by the author (p. 62 and p. 216, note 53). It has, however, been overlooked that the word has been taken also to stand for *īśa* (*Bulletin of the U.P. Historical Society*, No. 2, p. 39, note 2) : for, philologically, the prefixing of *o* to *esho* is 'due to the phonetic phenomenon known as 'Indistinct Articulation' which is specially to be noticed when a Sanskrit word which is rather difficult to pronounce is represented in a foreign tongue' (J. Piele, *Philology*, p. 32).

While dealing with the coin denominations in Chapter VII, pp. 201-03, Dr. Chattopadhyay could have included *kārsāpana*, mentioned along with *suvarṇa* and *kedāra* in some passages discussed by him. He could also have included *taṇka*, another coin denomination occurring on some 'Puri-Kuṣāṇa' coins which are discussed by him in Chapter IV. While dealing with *dīnāra*, the author states that the name is found in some inscriptions of the Gupta age such as the Sanchi inscription of 450-51 A.D. and also in the *Rājataranginī* (p. 201). The coin name *dīnāra* in the form *dīnāri*, however, occurs in certain Nāgārjunikonda inscriptions of the Ikṣvākus, one of which is dated 333 A.D. (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXV., pp. 4-7). Among the Gupta inscriptions mentioning it (*Corp. Ins. Ind.*, Vol. III, Nos. 5, 7, 8, 9, 62, 64), the Sanchi inscription of Candragupta II dated Gupta era 93 (412-13 A.D.) is perhaps the earliest. In his treatment of *kusāṇa* (p. 202), the author has overlooked that the word has also been taken to stand for *krśāṇa* meaning 'minor food' (D. C. Sircar, *Select Inscriptions*, Vol. I, 1965, p. 166 and note), i.e., *a-mukhy-āhāra* in comparison to *mukhy-āhāra* (principal food) referred to in another Nasik inscription (*ibid.*, pp. 167-69). In connection with *nāṇaka*, it has been stated

that some gold coins of Kanis̄ka I bear the representation of the goddess Nana on the reverse, although in the description of the coin-types of Kanis̄ka I and the discussion on the deities on them, copper coins of Kanis̄ka I with the figure of the same goddess have actually been referred to (pp. 64, 164). In the same connection, it has also been said that *nānaka* is referred to in the *Yājñavalkyasmṛti*; but the reference to it in other early texts like the *Mṛcchakatikā* and the *Āngavijjā* should not have been ignored. Indeed, the discussion could have been enriched by incorporating the evidence of the *Āngavijjā*, compiled about the close of the Kuśāṇa period and probably retouched during the Gupta age.

The Chapter dealing with the provenance of the Kuśāṇa coins is particularly interesting. The discovery of such coins in Wales and Scandinavia (*JRAS*, 1912, p. 672) and in Abyssinia (*Convegno Internazionale di Studi Etiopici*, Academia Nazionale di Lincei, Rome, 1959, pp. 249 ff.) should have been noted.

R. B. Whitehead's *Catalogue of Coins in the Punjab Museum*, Lahore, Vol. I, 1914, D. C. Sircar's *Indian Epigraphy*, Delhi, 1965, and *Indian Epigraphical Glossary*, Delhi, 1966, and B. N. Puri's *India Under the Kuśāṇas*, Bombay, 1965, are some of the omissions in the author's Bibliography. There is also some defect in the alphabetical arrangement of the names of authors in the Bibliography. The same defect is again noticed in the Index. The various coin denominations discussed by the author should better have been mentioned in the Index for the benefit of the students.

There are some points on which we are inclined to disagree with the learned author. Thus, at p. 28, it has been stated that the Moon-god is widely represented on the Kuśāṇa coins because the moon was the tutelary deity of the Kuśāṇas. But, as is well known, Oesho, Nana and Ardokhsho are no less widely represented on the Kuśāṇa coins. Further, the view that 'the finds of the Kuśāṇa coins in Chhota Nagpur and Bengal make it probable that Magadha was included in the Kuśāṇa empire', does not appeal to us in view of the peripatetic nature of coins and the discovery of Kuśāṇa coins also in Orissa.

Repetition of statements, e.g. 'Allan re-examined the coins on which Cunningham had read *devaputra* and asserted that it never appears on the Kuśāṇa coins' at p. 31 and again 'Allan has re-examined those two specimens and found Cunningham's reading [of *devaputra*] to be an error' at p. 32, should have been avoided.

We noticed a few cases of wrong reference; cf., e.g., p. 81, note 105. There are errors in the use of diacritical marks. Hardly in any place *ārikūṣa*, *dīnāra* and *Rājatarāigīṇi*, to mention a few only, have been written with proper diacritical marks. A large number of misprints have been corrected in the Errata, although we have noticed a lot more, e.g. 'monarchs' for 'monarchs' (p. 48, line 18), 'part' for

'post' (p. 57, line 8), 'XII' for 'XIII' (p. 78, line 8), 'Sotar' for 'Soter' (p. 137, line 30), 'Bulandbag' for 'Bulandibag' (p. 237, line 24), 'crouchaft' for 'couchant' (p. 252 line 8), etc.

In spite of the blemishes noted, we have no hesitation in recommending the book to the students of the history of the Kus̄ṇas.

SAMARESH BANDYOPADHYAY

III

POLITY IN THE AGNIPURĀNA by Dr. Bam Bahadur Mishra, published by Punthi Pustak, Calcutta, 1965; royal 8vo pages 206 excluding Appendix, Bibliography and Index; price Rs. 36.00.

The present work is the result of the author's study of the *Agni Purāna* from the stand point of a student of political theories. It has earned for him the Ph.D degree of Patna University.

The book is arranged in seven Chapters, viz. Introduction, Sources and the Date of Final Compilation, State and Kingship, Administrative Organisation, Revenue System, Army and Inter-State Relations, and Conclusion.

For his attempt to study the *Agni Purāna* from a new angle, which was never done in such a thorough and comprehensive manner, Dr. Mishra deserves our sincere thanks. In order to clarify the various points and to explain some of the obscurities, the learned author had to tackle different sources of information. The painstaking study helped Dr. Mishra in drawing certain interesting conclusions. Thus the Chapter on sources, etc., ends with the suggestion that the *Agni Purāna* was composed in an age earlier than the 11th century A.D. (p. 24). He also agrees with Jackson that the final redaction of the Purāna was done somewhere in North-East India, very near the Gaṅgā and the city of Gayā (pp. 25f). One of the reasons for such an assumption is that Gayā, which attained prominence under the Pālas, has been described in long chapters as the holiest place in the *Agni Purāna*. But Gayā was a place of importance long before the rise of the Pālas (cf. Sircar, *Stud. Geog. Anc. Med. Ind.*, pp. 224 ff.) and any attempt to synchronise Gayā's coming to eminence with the date of compilation of the *Agni Purāna* will only add to confusion. Moreover, the reference to Gayā as the holiest place is possibly not enough to connect the *Agni Purāna* with Gayā which actually figures prominently in many other texts.

The third Chapter, which is on State and Kingship, gives an elaborate account of the *saptāṅga* or seven limbs of the State and their relative importance. It is followed by a discussion on kingship. In

this connection the author has expressed his disagreement with Ghoshal's interpretation of *rāstra* as 'rural area' (p. 29).

In the Chapter on Administrative Organisation, there is a discussion on ministers, civil administration and similar other topics. Here the author is at pains to trace the germ of feudalism in ancient Indian polity. Thus he finds in expressions like *āśesāmanta*, *mandaleśvara*, *adhiśvara*, *rājeśvara*, etc., which have been used in the *Agni Purāna*, the existence of a feudal hierarchy (p. 121). He also thinks that land grants to priests and Brāhmaṇas led to the creation of feudatories belonging to the priestly class. To substantiate this assertion, a reference is made to a passage of the *Agni Purāna*, which suggests that such gifts intended to transfer "the proprietary rights over mountainous villages (*kharvāṭa*), villages with agricultural peasants (*khetaka*) and even towns (*pura*) to the Brāhmaṇas" (p. 122). It has been inferred that the peasants so transferred were expected to furnish manual labour and other services to their masters. Without going deep into the subject, it may be said that European feudalism hardly conforms to the Indian concept of landlordism where a corresponding feudal obligation is singularly absent. There is also not a single instance to show that the Indian landlord ever extended his right over the person of the peasant. Indian peasants, therefore, cannot be compared with the European serfs who were tied to the soil. In India, private ownership of land was recognised from very ancient times and the Nāsik inscription of Rāshbhadatta may be cited as a classic example in this respect, the Śaka chief being described as having paid money for purchasing a plot of land from an ordinary subject. Indian land-holders were, therefore, not tenants at will. We may also refer to Gautamiputra Śātakarni's inscriptions which indicate that the Śātavāhana ruler had to make the grant of a new village to the Buddhist monks, because the village granted previously had been deserted by its inhabitants. As a matter of fact, the grant of villages to the Brāhmaṇas did not permit the donees to enjoy anything besides the royal dues. The *Agni Purāna* recommends the grant of a *pura* (town) to the Brāhmaṇas. We do not know whether the author is prepared to extend his theory of feudalism in this case also. It is unwise to build theories on improper or vague understanding of a system. Moreover, the class-, caste- and clan-ridden society, as it was and still is in India, led to the development of certain social, economic and political concepts, not at all in keeping with those in Europe. Here the *Pañcāyat* system, in one form or another, took deep root, and a proper investigation of different castes, classes and clans would reveal that they were organised in close groups with different social regulations. The loyalty of the individual member was as much, if not more, to his social group as it was to the sovereign. The different

official titles should not be interpreted in terms of feudalism as has been done by Dr. Mishra. The author's observation that the tax-free land was a 'drain on economic resources of the State' (p. 123) is not always true. Sometimes land was granted to develop a particular area around the nucleus of a Brāhmaṇa settlement (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXXIII, pp. 50 ff.).

In the chapter on Revenue System, we are told that *hiranya* was a tax, imposed on the sales of gold and also one levied on the interest gained by money-lenders (p. 152). The passage quoted in support of this hypothesis, viz. *ye ca hirayasya prayogena Vārdhus-ikāḥ tebhyaḥ pañca-saḍ-bhāgo vrddher=grāhyah*, does not carry the sense in which the author has taken it. Here *hiranya* cannot be connected with *grāhya*, but should go with *prayogena*. The author also fails to note that some epigraphs leave no room for doubt that *hiranya* was a tax in cash (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXX, p. 55). In another place (p. 157), the author, in complete disagreement with Ghoshal, reads in the *Agni Purāṇa*, in terms of a modern principle, the view that taxation returns to the people in fertilising showers. Dr. Mishra refers in this connection to U. Hicks and H. Dalton, according to whom, only through heavy taxation, development work for public welfare can be effectively executed. We are, however, afraid that the modern concept of 'development' was completely unknown to our law-givers. Indeed, in ancient India, taxation was never progressive, but always proportionate and, therefore, regressive. Any increase in the existing tax or imposition of new taxes was, thus, bound to be oppressive. Rudradāman takes legitimate pride in not having oppressed his people with taxes for the reconstruction of the Sudarśana lake. We may add that, even according to modern economists, the oppressive tax never contributes to development. Moreover, the theories applicable to a highly industrialised country are not always fit for a pure agricultural economy based again on manual labour.

The Chapter entitled 'Army and Inter-State Relations' gives an outline of the composition of the army, the weapons, the six-fold stages of diplomacy, etc. Finally, in a small Chapter, the author gives a summary of his views expressed in the body of the work.

The Bibliography is a useful guide to inquisitive readers for the prosecution of further study. There are, however, some notable omissions, e.g., B.A. Saletore, *Ancient Indian Political Thought and Institutions*; V. P. Varma, *Studies in Hindu Political Thought*; John W. Spellman, *Political Theory of Ancient India*; etc. The list of journals and periodicals is of no use. The printing and 'getup' are satisfactory; but the price seems to us to be unreasonably high.

D. R. DAS.

THE RACES OF MANKIND by Prof. M. Nesturkh, published by Progress Publishers, Moscow, Second Printing, 1966; pages 113 with 8 Plates and many other illustrations.

The concept of race still evokes feelings which are not always of a scientific nature. Professor Nesturkh's monograph, with a preface by Professor Cheboksarov and a wealth of illustrations, some of them in colour, is significant because it outlines the Soviet academic standpoint on this intriguing subject.

The first Chapter (Definition of the Races of Mankind) summarises racial characteristics and the methods of their study, the Cheboksarov classificatory system of the three Great Races (Negroid, Europoid and Mongoloid) with their subdivisions of Races and groups of anthropological types, and the features common to them all. Emphasis has been put, for the purpose of racial studies, on the colour of the skin, hair and eyes, the type of hair, the shape of the eyelids, nose, lips, face and head and the length of the body and its proportions. The recent genetic approach which defines races as "populations that differ in the relative frequencies of gene alleles or of chromosome structure" (Sinnot, Dobzhansky and Dunn, *Principles of Genetics*, New York, 1958, p. 279), and which possibly will do away with much of the standard racial classificatory systems has not been mentioned. The Cheboksarov classificatory system has been put in a tabulated form. One should, however, remember that "since races are open systems which are intergrading, the number of races will depend on the purpose of the classification" (Sherwood L. Washburn, 'The Study of Race' in *American Anthropologist*, Vol. 65, No. 3, Part i, 1963, p. 524). The section on features common to all races states that "the races are of common origin and cannot be regarded as different stages of development" (p. 29) and that "the fundamental rôle in the development of man is played by social and not by biological factors....." (p. 30).

The second Chapter (Races and the Origin of Man) with its basic assumption that "modern man developed from a Neanderthal ancestor" (p. 31) is primarily based on fossil remains of man and anthropoids with two final sections on the racial peculiarities of man and the anthropoid type of structure, and the main features of the structure of the human body: hand, foot, brain. The discussion on the fossils, though brief, is precise and comprehensive, including a note on the tertiary Siwalik macaques and apes. Of the Ramapithecus, it is said: "If that species had not become completely extinct, it could have developed into a South-Asian-Australopithecus and, further, into a Pithecanthropus" (p. 43). The opinion that the crude stone tools, associated with the

Zinjanthropus of the Olduvai Gorge, Bed I, and dated by the K^{40}/Ar^{40} method at 1750000 years ago, were made by the Zinjanthropus itself is said to have been disputed by the Soviet scholars.

The fundamental postulate of the third Chapter, the Origin of Races, is that the races of mankind are the results of historical development, of geographical and social isolation, natural selection particularly at the early stage of development with a low-level technology, and intermarriage. The formation of the Negroid, Europoid and Mongoloid races has been discussed from this standpoint, though the technical part of the discussion, because of the largely incomplete nature of the evidence, is necessarily speculative to some extent.

Of particular significance is the fourth and final Chapter on races and racism, rounded up with a note on the equality of races and nations in the U.S.S.R., possibly of not much relevance in a book seemingly academic in character. The issues examined are the essence of racism which implies the categorization of mankind into higher and lower races, a concept supported by no phase of the modern science, race and language which are quite independent of each other, and race and mentality between which also there is no plausible relation.

DILIP K. CHAKRABARTI

V

BĀNGLĀR LAUKIK DEVATĀ (in Bengali) by Gopendrakrishna Basu, published by Ananda Publishers, Calcutta, 1966; pages 196 with 10 Plates; price Rs. 6.00.

Since very little has yet been done in respect to the study of Bengali folk-culture, the author's honest attempt to bring to light interesting features of the cults and rituals of the local gods and goddesses of Bengal deserves congratulation in view of the fact that folk cults and rituals are quickly disappearing with the rapid growth of industrialisation and urbanism. The title of the work under review is not quite accurate since the author deals mainly with the folk religion of lower Bengal; but we should yet be thankful to him for the extensive fieldwork he has done in order to give an empiric interpretation of the characteristics of the village divinities.

[In this work, thirtythree local gods and goddesses are discussed and some of these are Mākāl Takur, Pāñcū Thākur, Ban Bibi, Āteśvar, Kālurāy, Olāicāndī, Bada Khān Gājī, Vāsalī, Baḍām, Rājballabhbī, Dhelkāi-cāndī, Hādjihī, Pīr Gorā-cānd, Rañkīnī, Tusu, Karam, Ŝini, Dakṣiṇārāy, Bhādu, Mānik Pīr, Ghānṭu and Olā Bibi. There is a small glossary of technical terms (pp. 191-96).—Ed.]

The author has tried to give a fair idea of the antiquity of the divinities and of their cult images and mode of worship and the popular legends associated with them which he collected either from local investigation or from literary sources. Interpretations being largely subjective, there may be differences of opinion; but one thing which should be pointed out in this connection is that the author has thoroughly been guided by some oversimplified notions, especially when he attributes a Nonaryan origin to all the village gods and an Aryan source to the higher gods. In fact, such distinction is meaningless because neither the Aryans nor the Nonaryans represent a homogeneous culture. As Gordon Childe points out, "a culture is the durable material expression of an adaptation to an environment, human as well as physiographical, that enabled a society to survive and develop. From this point of view the buildings, tools, weapons, ornaments and other surviving constituents are interrelated as elements in a functioning whole." In this sense, the so-called Aryans had many cultures, as is revealed even in the Vedic texts, and the same holds good in the case of the so-called Nonaryans. However, all these are minor points, and, on the whole, the book is full of valuable information and may be recommended to all students of the religious life of Bengal. [The Sanskrit *mantras* quoted in the book generally contain errors of language.—Ed.]

N. N. BHATTACHARYYA

VI

BULLETIN OF ANCIENT INDIAN HISTORY AND ARCHAEOLOGY, No. 1 (1967), edited by K. D. Bajpai and published by the Department of Ancient Indian History, Culture and Archaeology, University of Saugor; double crown pages 127 with 14 Plates; price Rs. 10 00.

There are sixteen articles written in English and five in Hindi in the issue of the Bulletin under review. Many of them are small notes. Of the 21 articles and notes, no less than 12 are from the pen of Prof. K. D. Bajpai. With the exception of Prof. R. K. Dikshit of the University of Lucknow and G. N. Malaviya, Research Scholar of the University of Jabalpur, all other contributors are associated with the Department of Ancient Indian History, Culture and Archaeology of the University of Saugor. Some of these articles deal with the results of the archaeological excavations and explorations carried in Madhya Pradesh especially by the said Department.

In the first article, Prof. Bajpai deals with some problems of the early history of Madhya Pradesh such as the independence of Eastern

Malwa and the Telengana region in the second century B.C., the establishment of Śaka rule in West Malwa in the second and first centuries B.C., the occupation of the Vidisha-Eran region by the Western Kṣatrapas during the third and fourth centuries A.D., etc.

In a paper entitled "Eran, a Chalcolithic Settlement," Udai Vir Singh deals with the civilisation of the pre-historic people of the Eran area in the Sagar District, Madhya Pradesh, on the basis of the digging of some mounds on the left bank of the river Binā.

In another paper, S. K. Pandey attempts to illustrate the different stages of hunting life on the basis of the extant rock-paintings. R. N. Mishra writes on specimens of the Western School of Medieval Indian Painting found on palm leaves and paper, in the form of *paṭas*, scrolls and *vijñaptipatras* preserved in the Jain *bhāṇḍārs* of Western India, the importance of this school of painting lying in the fact that it bridges the gap between the Pāla and the Rājput schools of painting. S. D. Mishra traces the nature and characteristics of *samāja*, *samajyā*, *samajjā*, *samāsa* or *samavāya*. Prof. Bajpai writes on an inscribed Yakṣa sealing from Kaufāmbī and the chronological sequence of the punch-marked coins discovered in the course of a recent excavation at Eran conducted by the University of Saugor. Prof. R. K. Dikshit has drawn our attention to the equipments and requirements which have been prescribed as necessary for making a fort suitable for warfare by ancient Indian writers like Manu, Kauṭilya and Kāmandaka. Prof. Bajpai thinks that the word *bhoga* in *sva-bhoga-nagara* in the Eran inscription of Samudragupta, like the term *bhukti*, probably denoted an administrative unit and territorial division. [But *bhoga-nagara* was apparently similar to *bhoga-janapada* (Sircar, *Ind. Ep. Gloss.*, p. 55).—Ed.]

In the Hindi section, Kanhaiyalal Agraval writes on *Daśārṇa kā Alīhāsik Bhūgol* in which Daśārṇa is incidentally identified with Dosarene. [But the *Periplus* locates Dosarene in Coastal Orissa while Daśārṇa was in East Malwa.—Ed.]

We wish the Bulletin longevity and progress

T. N. CHAKRABORTY

VII

AN ANTHOLOGY OF SANSKRIT COURT POETRY (Harvard Oriental Series, Vol. 44), translated by Daniel H. H. Ingalls, published by Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1965; royal 8vo pages 611 (including Notes, 466-583, and the Indexes, pp. 587-611); price \$ 15.00 (Rs. 112.50).

The book under review is a translation of Vidyākara's *Subhāgitaratnakoṣa* composed in the Jagaddala monastery in North Bengal about

1100 A.D. and published in the Harvard Oriental Series as Vol. 42 in 1957. It belongs to the series of translations from Sanskrit literature sponsored by the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation (UNESCO) and is a monument of labour, skill and care expected from a Sanskritist of the standard of Mr. Ingalls who is Wales Professor of Sanskrit at Harvard University and Editor of the Harvard Oriental Series. The work will serve as a model to translators of similar Sanskrit works.

It would appear surprising to many that Prof. Ingalls undertook the laborious task of translating the *Subhāṣitaratnakōśa*, because most students do not attach to such translations the importance they deserve. But his labour of love must have been inspired by his intelligent and sympathetic approach to Sanskrit poetry which is exhibited by his sober criticism of Keith's superiority complex and Kosambi's socialistic nonsense. He rightly points out, "The path to a proper understanding of Sanskrit poetry must begin with Sanskrit poetry itself, with trying to understand and, if possible, to reproduce its specifically poetic effects If we are finally to condemn Murāri and Rājaśekhara, it must not be by a Western theory of drama which those Indian authors never professed, but by the principles of mood and suggestion which they claim to follow" (pp. 52-53).

Voluminous as the work is, it is rather easy to trace mistakes and blemishes here and there in it. We have noticed some misprints; e.g. 'V. V. Raghavan' for 'V. Raghavan' (p. viii), *ksitiś* for *ksitiśa* (p. 8), 'Ārya' for 'Āryā' (p. 40), *Mātravṛttah* for *Mātrāvṛttah* (p. 588), etc. In "Upajāti with Indra- and Upendra-vajrā 34 96.2%" at p. 589, '34' seems to be a mistake for '25' and '96.2%' is obviously erroneous. Among more serious mistakes, mention may be made of the statement, "verse 1568 doubtless refers to the Pāla king Śrīcandra" (p. 410). This is of course a case of *munināñ=ca mati-bhranah*. In the first place, there was no Pāla king having a *candra*-ending name and Śrīcandra is the name of a well-known monarch of the Candra dynasty, who ruled over South-East Bengal in c. 925-75 A.D. Secondly, it is not correct to say that verse 1508 refers to Śrīcandra. The stanza has been translated as follows—

"You have always sought for Victory, king Candra, and
never loved me even in your sleep."
So spoke fear in anger
and, passing over to the enemy,
brought to an end king Candra's sports of battle" (p. 411).

The name of the king mentioned in this translation may look like Candra but not Śrīcandra. About 1100 A.D. when the anthology is

supposed to have been compiled, the Gāhadavāla king Candra (c. 1100 A.D.) was ruling over U.P. Amongst earlier monarchs of this name, the most famous is, as is well known, king Candra (probably identical with Candragupta II, 376-414 A.D.) of the Meharauli iron pillar inscription. But what is of greater importance is that the translation is apparently wrong and that no king is really mentioned by name in the stanza which runs as follows—

tvari sarvadā nrpati-candra jayaśriyo='rthi
svapne='pi na pranayiṇī bhavato='ham=āsam |
itthān Śri(bhi)yā kūpitay=eva ripūn=vrajantyā
saṁjaghnire samara-keli-mu(su)khāni yasya ||

Here *nrpati-candra* means 'the moon among kings' (i.e. the best of kings) which is a common-place in Sanskrit *kāvya* literature. See Monier-Williams, *Sans.-Eng. Dict.*, s.v. *candra*, quoting *narendra-candra* from the *Ratnāvalī*, I. 4, and *pārthiva-candra* from the *Kāśikā* (cf. Pāṇini, 2. 1. 56—*upamitāni vyāghr-ādibhiḥ sāmāny-āprayoge*).

Thirdly, under 'Śricandra, king' in the 'Index of Names and Subjects' at p. 610, we have the references—'Intr. 46, par. 4; vs. 1384'. Unfortunately there is really no Śricandra mentioned in the Introduction, p. 46, paragraph 4, though the translation of verse 1384 (at p. 374) reads as follows—

"The elephants of heaven, using their trunks as pens
and drawing for their ink on the ichor of their cheeks,
have written in the toddypalms, Śri Candradeva,
that grow upon your shore, the paean of your triumph."—Abhinanda.

It has, however, not been noted that king Śricandra is also mentioned at p. 410 and in the translation of verse 1568 at p. 411, to which we have already referred above. The same king, moreover, also occurs in the translation of verse 1402 (p. 376), which runs as follows—

"Śricandra, you did not uncross your legs
nor raise yourself from off the lion throne
nor move the creeper of your eyebrow, black
as were a line of smoke from anger's fire.
You but let the lustre of those royal crowns,
that scatter heaps of shining rays,
expend their splendour on your lotus feet."—Suvinita.

We mention the defects in the Index because, unlike the useless stuff we often find in some of our publications, it is prepared with care.

Vidyākara compiled the anthology at the Jagaddala monastery, about which it has been said, "The ruins of Jagaddala may still be

seen in Malda District a few miles east of the present border between West and East Bengal" (p. v). Unfortunately, there are two mistakes in the statement. Firstly, the exact location of the Jagaddala monastery in North Bengal cannot be determined (cf. *Hist. Beng.*, Vol. I, ed. Majumdar, p. 418). Secondly, "a few miles east of the border between West and East Bengal" would take us to the Rajshahi District of East Pakistan outside the Malda District of West Bengal.

Whatever has been said above does not detract from the exceptionally great value of Prof. Ingalls' magnificent translation of Vidyākara's *Subhāṣitaratnakoṣa*, the translation of which as *Treasury of Well-Turned Verse*, however, does not quite appeal to us.

D. C. SIRCAR

VIII

A STUDY OF VAISNAVISM IN ANCIENT AND MEDIEVAL BENGAL by S. C. Mukherjee, published by Punthi Pustak, Calcutta, 1966; pages 241 (including Bibliography and Index); price Rs. 20.00.

The work under review was submitted by the author to the University of Calcutta in 1964 as a thesis for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy (D. Phil.). It incorporates his researches in Bengal Vaiṣṇavism down to the end of the medieval period (which according to the author closes with the advent of Caitanya). The first five Chapters are devoted to the study of Vaiṣṇavism in Pre-Caitanya Bengal. The sixth and last Chapter deals with the life and teachings of Caitanya. There are two appendices, the first on the Rādhā Cult and the second on Iconography.

Chapter I discusses the history of Viṣṇu-Kṛṣṇa worship in ancient India, with particular reference to Bengal, down to the post-Gupta period. The second and third Chapters discuss the progress of Vaiṣṇavism in Bengal respectively in the Pāla age and during the days of the Senas. Chapter IV is devoted to Jayadeva, the celebrated author of the *Gitagovinda*, while the next Chapter describes the condition of Vaisnavism in Bengal in the post-Jayadeva period.

Although the author's approach to the problems has been mainly historical, he has shown some acquaintance with literary works, especially the Bengali Vaiṣṇava poems. It must be admitted, however, that much of what has been said in the book was previously known from the works of writers on the subject such as Kennedy, H. C. Raychaudhuri, S. K. De, J. N. Banerjea, Sukumar Sen and others to whom the author frankly acknowledges his indebtedness. Dr. Mukherjee has, however, been a good compiler of both epigraphic

and literary data, even though he is generally shy to offer his own views on the topics discussed in the book. This lack of boldness is one of the main flaws of the work. The author should have also told us something on Vaiṣṇava philosophy and particularly the philosophy of Caitanya.

Some of the author's statements appear to be wrong. Thus he says, 'Rādhā is not mentioned in some early Purāṇic works like the *Vāyu*, *Matsya*, *Brahma*, *Varāha* and *Bhāgavata Purāṇas*' (p. 185). As a matter of fact, at least three of these Purāṇas mention Rādhā (cf. *Vāyu*, 104.52; *Varāha*, 164.34; *Matsya*, V. 31.32). There are also repetitions; e.g., we are told, "Our information regarding the history of Varman dynasty is chiefly derived from the Belāva Copper Plate Inscription," once at p. 44 and then again at p. 47. The author's language is weak.

A. K. CHATTERJEE

IX

PROCEEDINGS OF THE TWENTY-SIXTH CONGRESS OF ORIENTALISTS, New Delhi, 4th-10th January, 1964, Vol. I, published by the Organising Committee of the Congress, New Delhi, 1966; royal 4to pages 146; price Rs. 18.00.

The book opens with a brief history of the International Congress of Orientalists which 'was born in Paris in 1873'. Oriental studies had already been inaugurated before this by the foundation of the Asiatic Society in Calcutta in 1784, the Russian Asiatic Academy at St. Petersburg in 1810, the Société Asiatique of Paris in 1822, the Royal Asiatic Society of London in 1829 and the Deutsche Morgenländischen Gesellschaft of Berlin. The section contains a brief description of the activities of the Congress and refers to the Indian representation at its various sessions and to certain resolutions passed on India and Indian studies. Next we find the Statutes of the International Congress of Orientalists adopted at the 11th session held in Paris in 1897. Then comes a list of names of the members of the Organising Committee, which is followed by a long list of institutions participating in the Delhi session of the Congress by sending their representatives. The list shows that 14 nations from different parts of the world took active interest for making the Congress a success. We have then a General Report and reports on the inaugural, plenary and concluding sessions.

In the section on the inaugural session, it has been said, "The foyer was beautifully decorated with *alpana* and was thronged with delegates from the ends of the world greeting each other with smiles

and handshakes. The hall was a sea of faces, and the dais was dominated by the emblem of the XXVI Session of the Congress, under which sat the members of the Organising Committee, the President of the Congress, the Education Minister of India, and the Chairmen and Secretaries of the different Sections. The twelve hundred delegates filled the rows of seats, and amongst the distinguished invitees were the diplomatic representatives of the different nations participating in the Congress" (p. 39). [It is unfortunate that diacritical marks have not been used in the word *ālpanā* (Sanskrit *ālepana*), or in any other quotations from Sanskrit.—Ed.]

After the welcome address delivered by P. V. Kane of India, B. G. Gafurov, President of the XXV International Congress of Orientalists held in Moscow, handed over the office to Humayun Kabir (India), the new President, with a short speech. Gafurov drew attention of the audience to the discovery of several Sanskrit manuscripts on birch bark in the Soviet Central Asian Republics a few years ago.

Next we have the proceedings of the symposia on 'Rôle of Oriental Studies in the Humanities' and on 'Changes in Muslim Personal Law'. The first symposium was held on the 6th January 1964 with Humayun Kabir in the chair. In his brief address, Kabir observed that the Arab civilisation 'was the result of an amalgam of Judaic religious thought, Iranian arts and crafts, Indian scientific influence, Greek philosophy, and Roman Law' (p. 66). Some of the speakers like A. L. Basham were apprehensive that Oriental Studies in the Western world might wither away in the near future, while others like W. Norman Brown did not agree with the view.

The second symposium, presided over by M. C. Chagla of India, was highly interesting because polygamy in Muslim society was the main subject of discussion. S. Hussein Nasr of Iran said that there could be nothing like Personal Law for a Muslim, which could be changed through legislation. S. Ahmad Akbarabadi of India opined that the Personal Law of a Muslim regarding polygamy might be changed, but added that such a change should not be made through legislation. If such a change was necessary, it, according to him, should be made by the Ulemas who are free from political influences. The ambassadors of Turkey and the U.A.R. gave accounts of the changes made in Muslim Personal Law in their respective States.

A list of papers presented to the Congress is given in the book and it is followed by the long list of names and addresses of the members.

The printing of the book as well as its paper and getup are satisfactory. We have now the first volume only, though, from the Foreword, it is learnt that some more volumes will be published shortly. While waiting for the said volumes which, we expect, will

be more interesting, since they will include the texts of the valuable papers presented at the Congress by the learned delegates, we recommend the volume under review to the students of Indology.

R. K. BHATTACHARYA

X

BRAHMANIC SETTLEMENTS IN DIFFERENT SUB-DIVISIONS OF ANCIENT BENGAL by Sm. Puspa Niyogi, published by Indian Studies Past and Present, Calcutta, 1967; pages 90 including Index; price Rs. 12.50.

In the monograph under review, which originally appeared serially in the quarterly journal entitled *Indian Studies Past and Present*, Dr. Puspa Niyogi has made an attempt to trace, with the help of epigraphic evidence, the religious and socio-economic status of the Brāhmaṇas of Bengal from the early centuries of the Christian era down to the 13th century A.D. The facts about the Brāhmaṇas of Bengal, as gathered from the inscriptions in a chronological order, have been presented both individually and collectively. The work is divided into several sections discussing topics such as—Progress of Brahmanisation, Vedic Studies and Practices, Brāhmaṇas in High Posts, Vedic Scholars in Bengal, Bengali Brāhmaṇa Settlements in Different Parts of Bengal, Migration of Brāhmaṇas to and from Bengal and Movement of Brāhmaṇas within Bengal.

Dr. Sm. Niyogi has shown how the Brāhmaṇas, during the period she has reviewed, obtained patronage through endowments of land made in their favour by the kings with both Brahmanical and Buddhistic affiliations. Private individuals also used to make donations, considering it to be a pious act. Some of the Brāhmaṇas were also offered high administrative posts in the kings' service. Details about the material possessions, and the recognition of the military and administrative ability, learning and intellectual attainments of the Bengali Brāhmaṇas of those days, within and outside Bengal, have been discussed more or less thoroughly. On the whole, the book is expected to prove interesting to the students of the social history of ancient Bengal.

Certain problems relating to the ancient geography of Bengal and the migration of the Brāhmaṇas to territories like Orissa and the Deccan have also been discussed in the book. Finally, Dr. Sm. Niyogi has offered classified details culled from the land grants of ancient Bengal in a tabular form. The appendices at the end of the monograph offer interesting information.

SM. JAYANTI DAS GUPTA

EARLY MEDIEVAL COIN-TYPES OF NORTHERN INDIA (*Numismatic Notes and Monographs*, No. 12) by Lallanji Gopal, pages v+81, 12 Plates; published by the Numismatic Society of India, Varanasi, 1966; price Rs. 15.00.

Dr. Lallanji Gopal's Monograph entitled *Early Medieval Coin-Types of Northern India* is a welcome addition to our numismatic literature. He has in a handy volume provided us with a mass of useful material relating to the early medieval coins, which was so far lying scattered in a large number of journals and out-of-print books. In fact, his book is practically the second of its kind, the first being Cunningham's *Coins of Medieval India*, published in 1894. Dr. Gopal has thus rendered a good service to the students of Indian numismatics by bringing out this monograph and by incorporating in it a large number of coin-types known since the days of Cunningham.

The monograph is divided into two parts. Part I provides us with an account of different early medieval coin-types, their origin, authorship and historical implications, while those coin-types are arranged in Part II.

The first part, in different sections, deals with representative types of early medieval coins, of which important are the King and Fire-Altar Type, the Standing King and Seated Goddess Type, the Horseman and Bull Type, and the Seated Goddess Type. The caption of Section I is however misleading, for, though it reads 'King and Fire Altar Type', it actually deals with various types of Indo-Sassanian or Gadhaiya coins, viz the *Śrī-Vigraha*, *Ādi-Varāha*, Fighting Horseman, and *Śiva-and-Bull* types. Neither the Fighting Horseman coins nor the *Śiva-Bull* pieces fall under the category of 'King and Fire Altar Type'. Section V is again made somewhat complicated by the listing of dynasties adopting two distinct types : (1) the Bull and Horseman, and (2) the Seated Goddess. While the matter for the former could have been included in Section III (Horseman and Bull Type), that for the latter should have gone to Section IV (Seated Goddess Type).

Part II provides us with the lists of coin-types of various early medieval rulers of Northern India, king by king. The author begins with the coins of Kashmir. Next come the Indo-Sassanian issues. And then are listed the coin-types of various other ruling families like the Gurjara-Pratihāras, the Jajapellas of Narwar, the Śāhīs of Ohund, the Kalacuris, the Candellas, the Gāhaḍavālas and the Cāhamānas.

The author's listing of the types is satisfactory. The descriptions of the coins of various rulers or issuers and their representative illustrations, which are generally clear, will be of immense help not only to the students of Indian numismatics but also to serious collectors.

Dr. Gopal has handled the mass of numismatic material capably, though the monograph has much scope for improvement. I would expect that Dr. Gopal revises—rather rewrites—the first part in a more scientific manner and describes the coins in greater detail in Part II.

A. N. LAHIRI

XII

THE HŪNAS IN INDIA by Upendra Thakur, published by Chowkhamba Sanskrit Series Office, Varanasi, 1967; pages xvi+344; price Rs. 25.00

The Hūnas are one of the fiercest peoples ever known to history. Their devastating campaigns were mainly responsible for the downfall of two of the greatest empires of the period—the Roman empire in the West and the Gupta empire in the East. Although the Hūnas played such an important part in the history of India during the fifth and sixth centuries A.D., very little is known about them. Published materials on the subject being scattered in different books and journals, Dr. Thakur's treatise, which attempts to present the known facts together, is a welcome publication.

The subject matter of the book is divided into seven Chapters. The introductory Chapter deals with the Hūnas in general—their original habitat, their migration to the west, their part in world history, etc. Chapter II gives us useful information about the White Hūnas or Ephthalites who invaded India. The author has here discussed the ethnology of the Hūnas, which is a matter of great complexity. He has elaborately discussed the distinction (already made by some earlier writers) between the original Hūnas, one of whose branches invaded Europe under Attila, and the Ephthalites, who came to India and whom the Chinese call a section of the Yue-ti. Both these peoples, however, were of the white Alpine type, originating from an old Turanian family of Mongolia and migrating long before the people of Mongolia had imbibed the so-called Mongoloid characteristics due to an extensive fusion of yellow blood.

Chapter III deals with the first contact of the Ephthalites with the Gupta empire, their violent clash with Skandagupta and their ultimate defeat and expulsion from India for a few years to come.

In Chapters IV and V, the career and achievements of Toramāṇa and Mihirakula respectively have been discussed. Chapter VI deals with the last days of the Hūnas in India, their relation with the different Indian powers—the Maukharis, Pusyabhūtis, Pālas, Paramāras, Kala-curis, Guhilas and others—during the later period. The concluding

Chapter gives an idea about the society and culture of the Hūṇas—the question of the origin of the Rajputs from them, their religion, their literary activities, a short survey of their coinage, etc.

The very nature of the subject matter, however, raises some controversial problems which cannot be settled at present. A few of them may be cited. The author's identification of the Ephthalite leader Toramāṇa with his namesake of the Kashmir chronicles does not seem to be conclusive, since Cunningham's main arguments for distinguishing the two are not very satisfactorily refuted. Besides, it is difficult to attribute the distinctive Toramāṇa coins of Kashmir with the word *Kida* (referring to the Kidāra Kuṣāṇas) to the issuer of the normal coins bearing the name of the Ephthalite Toramāṇa. Then, the question of Toramāṇa's eastern conquests in Kauśāmbī, Kāśī and Magadha, based mainly on the evidence of the *Āryamatiśrīmūlakalpa* and on the supposed identification of *Hakārākhyā* of that text with Toramāṇa, is highly problematical. The discovery of two seals bearing the legends *Toramāṇa* and *Hūṇarāja* and some peculiar arrow-heads from the Kauśāmbī excavations is supposed to be sufficient to prove Toramāṇa's conquests as far as Magadha. But this point must await further corroboration from more conclusive evidences.

Then arises the question of the supposed White Hūṇa era in the dates occurring on the Gupta-type silver coins of Toramāṇa. The author believes with Cunningham that it was possibly started from the time of the "final expulsion of the Sassanians from the countries to the north of the Oxus by Chu-khan in A.D. 456 or 457". But had such an era originated with the White Hūṇas themselves, it is strange that neither their great chief Toramāṇa nor his equally prominent son Mihirakula should have used the so-called White Hūṇa era while dating their inscriptions. It is also strange that indigenous Indian rulers like the Maukhari kings Isānavarman and Sarvavarman, whose coins also bear dates apparently in the same era as that on Toramāṇa's coins, should use the so-called White Hūṇa era. In fact, the problem relating to the era under discussion is yet to be solved.

Finally, in view of the distinction between the original Hūṇas and the Ephthalites, as made by the author himself, the book might have been better named as 'The Ephthalites (or White Hūṇas) in India'. Moreover, due importance has not been given to the numismatic sources, a proper and scientific study of which is sure to throw some welcome light on the activities of the Ephthalites.

Anyway, the present work being one of the very few books on the subject is definitely a praiseworthy contribution on the part of Dr. Thakur. He could, however, have profited much, had he had the opportunity of consulting Professor Robert Goebel's recently published monumental German work entitled *Dokumente zur Geschichte der Irans-*

chen Hunnen in Baktrien und Indien in 4 volumes, which embodies all available information about the 'Iranian Hūṇas', i.e. the Ephthalites, mainly from an extensive study of their coins (covering practically 3 volumes), besides literary and epigraphic evidences.

SM. BELA LAHIRI

XIII

COPPER-PLATES OF SYLHET, Volume I (7th-11th Century A D.), by Kamala Kanta Gupta, published by the author from Sylhet, East Pakistan, 1967; pages 203; price Rs. 10.00.

This book deals with five copper-plate grants discovered in the Sylhet District of East Pakistan, viz., the Nidhanpur plates of Bhāskaravarman, Kalapur plate of Maruṇḍanātha, Paschimbhag plate of Śrīcandra and two Bhāṭṭēra plates of Govindakeśavadeva and Ḫāṇadeva.

The author has earned our gratitude by bringing to light two new inscriptions, one of Maruṇḍanātha and the other of Śrīcandra. Maruṇḍanātha is not known from any other source. As the author points out, he may be connected with Lokanātha of the Tippera plate, and the Kalapur inscription is thus of considerable historical importance. Unfortunately, the author could not properly read the inscription due to its damaged condition. A good facsimile of the record would have increased the value of the book. Some of the previously published inscriptions have been re-read by the author. He says that the great-grandfather and the grandfather of Govindakeśava of the Bhāṭṭēra plate were Navagirvāṇa and Gōṅgūṇadeva (p. 157), not Kharavāṇa and Gokula or Ḫōṅgāṇa. [The first name appears to be Navagirvāṇa *alias* Kharabāṇa. The reading of the second cannot be Gōṅgūṇa which violates the metre.—Ed.]

It is not possible for one "trained in a different branch of learning" to do proper justice to a subject which requires specialised study. Hence the author, in spite of his earnest endeavour, has failed to make the work a learned one. His identifications of the two copper-plate grants supposed to have been issued by the Tippera kings Dharmmapā of the 7th century A.D. and Dharmmadhara of the 12th century A.D., mentioned in a book entitled *Vaddikasārvādī* written some 60 or 70 years back, with the Nidhanpur plates of Bhāskaravarman and the Paschimbhag plate of Śrīcandra respectively (pp. 59-60) are not at all convincing. In connection with the Kalapur plate of Maruṇḍanātha, the author refers to the Tippera plate of Lokanātha and accepts R. G. Basak's contention that he was a feudatory of the Later Gupta king

Ādityasena. He says, after Basak it seems, that here also the legend on the seal is written in the character of the early Gupta age, while the charter is written in the script of the 7th century A.D. Mention may, however, be made here of an article by D. C. Sircar appearing in the *Indian Historical Quarterly*, Vol. XXIII, pp. 221 ff., where both these contentions have been refuted. The fact that some of the above-mentioned copper-plate grants record the gift of lands to Brāhmaṇas bearing surnames, which are not at present borne by Bengali Brāhmaṇas, is interesting. But the theory accepted by the author that there was "a migration and subsequent colonisation in Sylhet District and adjoining areas by Nāgara-Brāhmaṇas (or Lāṭa-dvijas) of Gujerat area, with surnames Ghosha, Datta, Vasu, Nandi etc." on the basis of the "hala measurement of land and Pāli measure of corns" prevalent in both the areas, has not yet convinced many historians. Similarly, the author's hypothesis of "migration of many classes of people, including Brāhmaṇas from Orissa and adjoining regions" to Sylhet or the basis of the single name of Mādhavādīsa is no doubt wrong. Sometimes the technical terms have been wrongly interpreted. For example *navakarma* does not mean 'nine works' and *Vārikā* is not the "person in charge of water, holy or not" (cf. Sircar, *Ind. Ep. Gloss.*, s.v.).

Apart from the intrinsic value of the book, defects including grammatical mistakes are unsatisfactory characteristics of the work. Some pages of the book have not been properly arranged (pp. 56-61) and this fact is not mentioned in the 'Erratum'. Diacritical marks are often incorrectly used or not used at all. The absence of a Bibliography is unfortunate.

SM. CHITTRAREKHA SENGUPTA

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 S. Ramayya, Inscribed Vishṇukundin Coins, pp. 81 ff.
 M. Amjad Ali, Legend on Kākatiya Copper Coins, pp. 85 ff.

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29. *University of Ceylon Review*, Vol. XXII, Nos. I-II, April-October, 1967.
 Y. Karunakara, The Buddhist Conception of Mahābhūtas, pp. 28 ff.

30. *Vishveshvaranand Indological Journal*, Vol. V. Part I, March, 1967.
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 R. N. Mehta, Buddhanātha Image from Nagara, pp. 90 ff.
 K. L. Mehra, History of Sesame in India and Its Cultural Significance, pp. 93 ff.

OUR DEPARTMENT

SESSION 1967-68

1. The number of students admitted, under the restricted admission scheme, to the First Year M.A. class is 56.
2. The number of candidates appearing at the M.A. Examination of 1967 is 234
3. The number of books added to the Departmental Library is 1183 making a total of 3589
4. Of the four National Scholars selected for studying M.A. in Ancient Indian History and Culture, the following three got themselves admitted to the course :—
 1. Sri Ramesh Kumar Billore, B.A (Ujjain Universiy),
 2. Sri Bimal Bandyopadhyay, B.A. (Calcutta University), and
 3. Sri Saikat Bandyopadhyay, B.A. (Calcutta University)
5. Research Scholars of the Department during the session :—
 1. Sri Sarojit Datta, M.A.—Pillars in Indian Art
 2. Sm. Mina Ray, M.A.—Coins of the Śātavāhanas
 3. Sm. Bharati Mukhopadhyay (née Bandyopadhyay), M.A.—Problems of Health in Ancient India
 4. Sm. Ketaki Ukil, M.A.—Siva Icons
6. Research Scholars of the Centre of Advanced Study during the session :—
 1. Sri Sarjug Prasad Singh, M.A. (Patna University)—Discovery of Early Coins in Bihar.
 2. Sm. Sipra Bhattacharya, M.A. (Calcutta University)—Epigraphic Evidence on the Privileges attached to Rent-free Holdings
 3. Sm. Archana Majumdar, M.A (Banaras Hindu University)—Printed Modes of Indian Textiles.
7. Sri Bijay Pratap Mishra, M.A. (Patna University), and Sri Ram Niwas Gupta, M.A. (Delhi University), have joined the Centre as Junior Research Fellows. Sri Sarjug Prasad Singh, M.A (Patna University), will join as Junior Research Fellow in the near future.

8. Of the two schemes of work undertaken by the Centre, viz. *Geographical Dictionary of Ancient and Medieval India* and *Glossary of Technical Terms in Indian Art and Aesthetics*, the first is being worked out by—(1) Dr. Sm. K. Saha, M.A., D.Phil., Research Associate, (2) Sri S. Bandyopadhyay, M.A., LL.B., Senior Research Fellow, (3) Dr. N. N. Bhattacharya, M.A., D.Phil., Junior Research Fellow, and (4) Sri Ram Niwas Gupta, M.A., Junior Research Fellow, and the second scheme by—(1) Sri R. K. Bhattacharya, M.A., Research Associate, (2) Sm. J. Dasgupta, M.A., Junior Research Fellow, (3) Dr. A. K. Chatterjee, M.A., D.Phil., Junior Research Fellow, and (4) Sri Bijay Pratap Mishra, M.A. Junior Research Fellow. The work on both the schemes are progressing satisfactorily and Vol. I of the *Geographical Dictionary* is nearing completion.

9. Dr. Narendra Nath Bhattacharya, M.A., D.Phil., Junior Research Fellow at the Centre, has been awarded the Griffith Memorial Prize for the year 1965 on his thesis entitled *Indian Puberty Rites*.

Sri Asim Kumar Chatterjee, M.A., another Junior Research Fellow, was admitted to the degree of D Phil on his thesis on the Cult of Skanda-Kārttikeya

The following registered candidates have made considerable progress towards the completion of their theses for D.Phil. under the supervision of the Head of the Department :—(1) Sri Sudhangshu Kumar Mukherjee, M.A. (Calcutta Medical College Hospital)—Early Indo-African Contacts, (2) Sri Kalipada Hore, M.A. (Ranaghat College)—Theft and Robbery in Ancient India, (3) Sri Chunilal Chakravarti, M.A. (Bangaon College)—Geography of Uttarāpātha, (4) Sm. Chitarekha Sengupta, M.A. (Department of Archaeology, C.U.)—East Indian Seals, and (5) Sri Jibendra Kumar Guha, M.A. (Dept. of Information and Public Relations, Govt. of West Bengal)—Indo-Siamese Art

10. Dr. Kalyan Kumar Gangopadhyay, M.A., D Phil., and Dr. Amarendra Nath Lahiri, M.A., D.Litt., Lecturers in the Department, have been appointed Readers.

Dr. Sm. Puspa Niyogi, M.A., D.Phil., has been appointed Lecturer in the Department.

11. Nine Monthly Seminars were held at the Centre, in which 25 papers were presented and discussed by the teachers of the Departments of Ancient Indian History and Culture and Archaeology and the research workers attached to the Departments, and the Centre. The proceedings of these Monthly Seminars are to be published in *JAIH*.

12. Seven lectures were delivered at the Centre, the lecturers being Sri A. K. Bhattacharya, Director, Indian Museum, Calcutta, Sri S. Bhattacharya, Linguist, Anthropological Survey of India; Dr. Ainslie T. Embree, Chairman of the Middle East Languages and Culture Department and Associate Professor of Indian History, Columbia University, U.S.A.; Dr. Michael Anthony Coulson, Department of Sanskrit and Pali, Edinburgh University; Mr. D. J. McCutchion, Reader in Comparative Literature, Jadavpur University; Dr. Konrad Meissner, Research Scholar of the Governments of West Germany and India; and Dr. L. B. Alayev, Institute Narodov Azii, Akademii Nauk, U.S.S.R. The proceedings of some of the lectures appear elsewhere in the present volume, and those of the rest will be published in our next issue.
13. The annual series of two days' Inter-University Seminars on (1) Bhakti Cult and (2) Ancient Indian Geography was held at the Centre on the 23th and 24th February, 1968. There were $14+12=26$ papers contributed by the representatives of various universities, amongst whom Prof. B. Ch. Chhabra of Punjab University, Chandigarh, Prof. P. B. Desai of Karnatak University, Dharwar, Dr. D. B. Sen Sharma of Kurukshetra University, Dr. Balram Srivastav and Sri Maheswari Prasad of Banaras Hindu University, Dr. Sm. B. Lahiri, Dr. B. K. Majumdar and Dr. S. K. Maity of Jadavpur University and others attended the seminars and took part in the deliberations. The proceedings of these seminars will be published in the near future.
14. The Harvard College Library, Cambridge, Massachusetts, U.S.A., has established exchange relations with our Centre.
15. The following books by persons attached to the Department and Centre appeared during the session :—
 - (1) Jean Przyluski : *The Legend of Emperor Aśoka in Indian and Chinese Texts*, translated from French by Sri D. K. Biswas, published by Firma K. L. Mukhopadhyay, Calcutta, 1967.
 - (2) *Studies in Indian Coins* by Prof. D. C. Sircar, published by Messrs Motilal Banarsi Dass, Delhi, 1968.
 - (3) *Studies in the Society and Administration in Ancient and Medieval India*, Vol. I—Society by Prof. D. C. Sircar, published by Firma K. L. Mukhopadhyay, Calcutta, 1967.
 - (4) *Indian Puberty Rites* by Dr. N. N. Bhattacharya, published by Indian Studies Past and Present, Calcutta, 1968.

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ADDENDA ET CORRIGENDA

Page 31, top.—*Read*—KṢATRAPAKA
„ 36, line 8.—*Read*—Agrawala
„ 49, line 14.—*Read*—Kṛttivāsa
„ 51, note line 2.—*Read*—Mahtab
„ 60, note 30.—*Add*—Ch. 2, p. 60 and Ch. 5, p. 161
(Nos. 211-21).
„ 79, note line 3.—*Read*—Kalibangan
„ 115, line 12.—*Read*—monastery
„ 119, line 8.—*Add Author's Note*—The name of the couterine brother of Aśoka is given as Vigataśoka, Vītāśoka and Vītaśoka, the last of the three being the correct form.
„ „ line 27.—*Read*—which
„ „ line 31.—*Read*—Vedisadevī.
„ 120, line 23.—*Add*—the commentaries on
„ „ line 3.—*Read*—*Porāṇaṭṭhakathā*
„ 124, last line.—*Read*—Uruvelā
„ 125, note line 10.—*Read*—*Bodhāharakūla*
„ 128, line 9.—*Read*—preacher (*Dhammadakathika*)
„ 129, line 29.—*Read*—6. *Samyuktāgama*
„ 130, note 14.—*Add*—See Biswas, *op. cit.*, p. 112.
„ 241, note 2, line 1.—*Read*—Van-tuong
„ 142, lines 33-34.—*Read*—two principles, one form, two
.....ornamentation are found

Page 150, title.—*Add Author's Note*—I have re-discussed the evidence in my later papers in the *East and West*, amending in some points my original tenets, and Dr. Macdowall has just published a fresh discussion on these rulers (*Numismatic Chronicle*, Ser. 7, Vol. 5, 1965, pp. 137-48, Pl. 12), in which he agrees with me on some points, but rejects some others of my hypotheses.

- „ 156, line 10.—*Read*—Let us
- „ 157, line 16.—*Read*—Vonones with Spalahora.
- „ 161, line 18.—*Read*—Śaka era
- „ 172, line 27.—*Read*—characters
- „ 189, line 3.—*Read*—*Prabodhacandrodaya*
- „ 191, line 13.—*Read*—*JNSI*
- „ 195, line 15.—*Read*—M.A.
- „ 196, line 42.—*Read*—of the Pañcālas
- „ 208, line 13.—*Add Editorial Note*—Advaya is a name of the Buddha according to the lexicons; cf. also *JRASB*, Letters, Vol. XIV, 1948, pp. 118-19.
- „ 213, line 3.—*Read*—8 Plates
- „ 214, line 37.—*Read*—Mākāl Thākur
- „ 218, line 13.—*Read*—which is
- „ 220, line 12.—*Read*—dynasty is
- „ 233, line 13.—*Read*—*Naigeyaśākhānukramanī*

REPRINTS

FOREIGN ELEMENTS IN THE HINDU POPULATION

D. R. BHANDARKAR

[*Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XL, 1911, pp. 3-37.]

From the orthodox point of view, the Hindu society is split up into the four main castes, viz. Brāhmaṇa, Kṣatriya, Vaiśya and Śūdra. The Brāhmaṇas occupy the highest grade, because they sprang from the head of the Supreme Being ; next in rank are the Kṣatriyas who were produced from his arms ; after them come the Vaiśyas who were generated from his thighs ; and lastly come the Śūdras who were relegated to the lowest rank as they sprang from his feet. The highest and most ancient authority that is adduced in support of this belief is the well-known *mantra* from the *R̥gveda* (X. 90.12), which run as follows—

*Brāhmaṇo = 'sya mukham = āśid = bāhū Rājanyah kṛtaḥ /
urū tad = asya yad = Vaiśyah padbhyām Śūdro = ajāyata //*

“The Brāhmaṇa was his mouth ; the Kṣatriya was made his arms ; what is called Vaiśya [was] his thighs, [and] from his feet sprang the Śūdra.”

The following verse from the *Manusmīti* (I. 31) is also quoted as a further authority in favour of the belief—

*Lokānān = tu vivṛddhy-arthāt mukha-bāh-ūnu-pādataḥ /
Brāhmaṇān Kṣat̄riyān Vaiśyān Śūdrañ = ca niravarttayat //*

“But, for the propagation of the worlds, he caused the Brāhmaṇa, the Kṣatriya, the Vaiśya and the Śūdra to issue from his mouth, arms, thighs and feet respectively.”

This has been the belief prevalent all over India. But, whereas in North India all these castes are generally

supposed to be still extant, in South India,¹ the Brāhmaṇas and the Śūdras are regarded as the only two castes now existing, the remaining two—the Kṣatriya and Vaiśya—being supposed to have been long since extinct. Thus the *Śūdrakamalākara* says—

*Brāhmaṇāḥ Kṣatriyā Vaiśyāḥ Śūdrā varṇāḥ = trayo dvijāḥ /
yuge yuge sthitāḥ sarvā Kalāv = ādy-āntayoh sthitih //*

“The Brāhmaṇas, Kṣatriyas, Vaiśyas and Śūdras are the [four] castes; the [first] three are the twice-born. All exist in every *yuga*. [But], in Kali, the first and last [only] obtain.”

In order to substantiate the above doctrine, the following verses from the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*, Skandha XII,² are often quoted—

*Mahāpadmapatiḥ kaścin = Nandah Kṣatṛa-vināśakṛt /
tato nṛpā bhavisyanti Śūdra-prāyāḥ = tv = adhārmikāḥ //8
sa eka-cchatrāṁ pṛthivīm = anullaṅghita-śāsanāḥ /
śāsiṣyati Mahāpadmo dvitiya iva Bhārgavah //9*

“A certain Nanda, the lord Mahāpadma, will cause the destruction of the Kṣatriyas. Thereafter the kings will be well-nigh Śūdras and impious.

“That Mahāpadma, with his commands not transgressed, will rule over the earth under one [royal] parasol, as if he were a second Bhārgava.”

Here the Nanda prince, Mahāpadma, is compared to Bhārgava or Paraśurāma and is said to have destroyed the Kṣatriyas; and the kings that succeeded him are spoken of as having been Śūdras. The *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* is thus considered as pointing to the annihilation of the Kṣatriya caste after the Nandas.

1 [South and East India.—D. C. S.]

2 [XII. i. 8-9.—D. C. S.]

But whether we regard all these four, or only two, castes as at present existing, there are numerous other castes ranging between them, which are said by the Hindu legislators to have sprung from intercourse between persons of two different castes, either by the *anuloma* or the *pratiloma* method. The marriage of a male of any one of the four castes with a female of the lower caste is styled *anuloma*, whereas that of a man with a woman of the higher caste is called *pratiloma*. Though such marriages appear from the works on Hindu law to have once been in vogue, still the issue of such marriages was always relegated to a lower rank. It has consequently been argued that the higher castes, at any rate, of the Hindu population maintain their purity of blood to the present day and that it is only the lower castes wherein an admixture of blood can at all be supposed to have taken place. A Brāhmaṇa, Kṣatriya or Vaiśya has been a Brāhmaṇa, Kṣatriya or Vaiśya since the days of the *Rgveda* when the hymn, from which a verse has been cited above, was composed. Again, it is held by many that Hinduism is a non-proselytising religion, that a Hindu means an individual born of Hindu parents and not converted to Hinduism, and that, consequently, Hinduism was always a barrier to foreign races being incorporated into Hindu society.

Many will naturally, therefore, ask themselves : how can we at all talk of any foreign element contained in the higher Hindu castes ? Let us, therefore, see how far this popular belief is tenable. But let us, in the first place, see whether Sanskrit literature itself contains any statements which run counter to this view.

To an orthodox Hindu the most sacred works are, of course, the Vedas. Of these, the *Rgveda* is considered to be the earliest. It consists of ten parts called *maṇḍalas*. Some of these contain hymns composed by different individual

ṛṣis. Now, who were the authors of these hymns? Were they all Brāhmaṇas? Most certainly not. The third *maṇḍala* of the *R̥gveda* was composed by Viśvāmitra and his family, and every Hindu knows that Viśvāmitra originally was not a Brāhmaṇa, but a Kṣatriya. The authors of the fortythird and fortyfourth hymns of the fourth *maṇḍala* were Ajamīḍha and Puramīḍha. That these were Kṣatriyas will be seen from the following passage of the *Viṣṇu Purāṇa* (IV. 19. 10)—*Bṛhatkṣatrasya Suhotraḥ* / *Suhotrāt Hastī ya idāṁ Hastināpuraṁ* = *āropayāmāsa* / *Ajamīḍha-Dvīmīḍha-Purumīḍhās* = *trayo Hasti-tanayāḥ* / *Ajamīḍhāt Kāṇvāḥ* / *Kāṇvāt Medhātithih* / *ataḥ Kāṇvāyanāḥ dvijāḥ* /

Various other hymns were composed by Kṣatriyas, and this subject is no better treated than in Muir's *Sanskrit Texts*, Vol. I, to which the reader is referred. But it will be said that, although it may be established that some hymns were composed by Kṣatriyas, it does not touch the question of the admixture of blood, unless the Kṣatriyas are shown to have risen to the rank of the Brāhmaṇas. It is not, however, difficult to prove this. With regard to Viśvāmitra's change of caste, the following verse from the *Anuśāsana-parvan* of the *Mahābhārata* [XIII. 4.48.—D. C. S.] is worth quoting—

Tato Brāhmaṇatāṁ jāto Viśvāmitro mahātapaḥ /
Kṣatriyah so — 'py — atha tathā Brahma-vatḥasya kārakaḥ //

“Then Viśvāmitra of great religious austerities attained to the state of a Brāhmaṇa. Although a Kṣatriya, he became the founder of a Brāhmaṇa family.”

Here then is a verse which distinctly says that Viśvāmitra was originally a Kṣatriya, but afterwards became not only a Brāhmaṇa, but the founder of a Brāhmaṇa family. This family is the well-known *Kauśika gotra*. The Brāhmaṇas of this *gotra* are as much Brāhmaṇa as the Brāhmaṇas of any other *gotra*. We have thus a clear instance before us of the fusion of Brāhmaṇa

and Kṣatriya blood. From Ajamīḍha, also referred to above, sprang Kanva; Kanva's son was Medhātithi, from whom the Kāñvāyaṇa Brāhmaṇas descended. And yet Ajamīḍha was a Kṣatriya! Many other instances of this nature have been culled together by Muir in his valuable book, and I, therefore, refrain from adducing them here. Similarly, instances are not wanting of men of the Vaiśya caste having become Brāhmaṇas. To cite one of these, the following verse from the *Harivāṁśa* may be given—

Nābhāgariṣṭha-putrau dvau Vaiśyau Brāhmaṇatāṁ gatau /658⁹

“The two sons of Nābhāgariṣṭha, who were Vaiśyas, attained to the status of the Brāhmaṇa.”

Not only men of the Kṣatriya and Vaiśya castes, but also of the lowest castes are recorded to have become Brāhmaṇas. Amongst the Brāhmaṇas of the present day, Vasiṣṭha *gotra* is looked upon as pure as any other. The originator of this *gotra* is believed to have been the sage Vasiṣṭha, with whose name the seventh *maṇḍala* of the *Rgveda* is associated. But what was the origin of this Vasiṣṭha himself? The following verse from the *Mahābhārata* throws light on this point—

*Gaṇikā-garbha-sambhūto Vasiṣṭhaś=ca mahāmuniḥ /
tapasā Brāhmaṇo jātah saṃskāras=tatra kāraṇam //*

“The great sage Vasiṣṭha was born of the womb of a harlot, but became a Brāhmaṇa by religious austerities. Training of the mind is the cause of it.”

This account agrees with, and is probably a later development of the tradition contained in the eleventh verse of the thirty-third hymn of Vasiṣṭha's own *maṇḍala*, i.e., the seventh *maṇḍala* of the *Rgveda*. The verse speaks

of Vasiṣṭha as having sprung from Urvaśī, an Apsaras, i.e., a courtezan of the gods. Such was the vile extraction of Vasiṣṭha, and yet he was the founder of a Brāhmaṇical *gotra*, second to none in purity. A low origin is likewise attributed not only to the sage Parāśara, but also to Vyāsa, the reputed compiler of the *Mahābhārata*. A verse from the *Vana-parvan* of this epic says—

*jāto Vyāsas = tu Kaivartyāḥ Śvapākyās = tu Parāśarāḥ /
bahavo = 'nye = 'pi Viśvātāṁ prāptā ye pūrvam = advijāḥ //⁴*

“Vyāsa was born of a fisherwoman, and Parāśara of a Cāṇḍāla woman. Many others, who were originally not twice-born, became Brāhmaṇas.”

What is the upshot of these quotations? Not only the two higher castes, viz., the Kṣatriyas and Vaiśyas, but also the lowest castes, such as fishermen and Cāṇḍālas, in short, all castes and classes, have contributed to the formation of the Brāhmaṇa caste, i.e., the caste now recognised to be the highest and purest in India! Most of these quotations are taken from the *Mahābhārata* which is regarded by the Hindus as so important and sacred that it has been called the fifth Veda. And it is this fifth Veda that we have mostly relied upon for tracing some of the sources of the Brāhmaṇa caste, just referred to. Perfectly true is the Marāthī adage—*nadiceṁ pāhūṁ naye mūlāṇi ṛṣiceṁ pusum naye kuḷ* (neither should the source of a river be sought for, nor the origin of the Ṛṣis be investigated).

It may be said that after all the *Mahābhārata*, from

4 [Cf. *Mahābhārata*, XIII. 20. 16-19 :

*Adrśyantyāḥ pitā Vaiśyo nāmnā Citramukhaḥ purā |
Brāhmaṇatvam=anuprāpto Brahmaṛṣitvā=ca Kaurava ||
Vaiśyaś=Citramukhaḥ kanyāṁ Vasiṣṭha-tanayasya vai |
śubhāṁ prādād=yato jāto Brahmarsis=tu Parāśarāḥ ||
tath=aiva Dāśa-kanyāyāṁ Satyavatyāṁ mahān=ṛṣiḥ |
Parāśarāt=prasūtaś=ca Vyāso yogamayo muniḥ ||—D. C. S.]*

which the above passages are quoted, is a conglomeration of legends which are not of much historical importance, though they cannot be objected to by an orthodox Brāhmaṇa and consequently may be adduced to silence his preposterous pretensions to purity of origin and the consequent highest place in Hindu society.

Let us, therefore, see what the Hindu law-books tell us, and here also I shall touch on one point only. In the *Yājñavalkyasmṛti* (Ch. IV) occurs this verse—

jāty-utkarṣo yuge jñeyah pañcame saptame = 'pi vā /
vyatyaye karmaṇāḥ svāmyāḥ pūrvavac = c = ādhar-ottaram //⁵

The translation of the first line, with which we are chiefly concerned, is this: “The exaltation of a caste in the Kali-yuga should be understood to take place in the fifth or seventh generation.” The sense of it has been made lucid by Vijñāneśvara-bhaṭṭa in his celebrated commentary on this Smṛti, entitled the *Mitākṣarā*. A part of his gloss on the first line runs as follows—

vyavasthā ca Brāhmaṇena Śūdrāyām = utpāditā Niṣādī sā
Brāhmaṇen = oḍhā duhitaram kāñcij = janayati / s = āpi
Brāhmaṇen = oḍhā anyām = ity = anena prakāreṇa ṣaṣṭhī¹
saptamām Brāhmaṇām janayati /

“The settled rule is [this]: a Niṣādī is produced by a Brāhmaṇa from a Śūdra female; she (i.e., the Niṣādī), if married by a Brāhmaṇa, produces a certain girl; even she (i.e., the girl), if married by a Brāhmaṇa, produces another [girl]—in this manner the sixth [girl] produces the seventh Brāhmaṇa [male].”

Now, what does this mean? A Brāhmaṇa marries a Śūdra woman, and a certain female offspring is produced.

5 [I. 96.—D. C. S.]

This last marries a Brāhmaṇa, and a second female offspring is produced. This last marries a Brāhmaṇa, and a third female offspring is produced, and so on. In this manner, if the sixth female offspring marries a Brāhmaṇa and has a male issue, this issue is looked upon as a Brāhmaṇa in no way differing in point of status from other Brāhmaṇas.

A verse of exactly the same import occurs in the *Manusmṛti* (X. 64) also. It is—

*Śūdrāyāṁ Brāhmaṇāj = jātāḥ śreyasā cet prajāyate /
aśreyāñ = chreyasīm jātiṁ gacchaty = ā saptamād = yugāt //*

“If [a female of the caste], sprung from a Brāhmaṇa and a Śūdra female, bear [children] to one of the highest caste, the inferior [tribe] attains the highest caste within the seventh generation.”

Most of the commentators of Manu interpret this verse in precisely the same manner, in which the verse from the *Yājñavalkyasmṛti* quoted above has been construed by Vijñāneśvara. But there are at least two commentators who put a somewhat different, but even more favourable, interpretation on the verse. According to them, what Manu has ordained is that “if a Pāraśava, the son of a Brāhmaṇa and a Śūdra female, marries a most excellent Pāraśava female who possesses a good moral character and other virtues, and if his descendants do the same, the child born in the sixth generation will be a Brāhmaṇa.”

It is idle to suppose that the Indian law-books at any rate would deal with imaginary cases regarding castes. The consensus of opinion among learned scholars is that they but record the local customs of the various parts of the country. When, therefore, Manu and Yājñavalkya lay down that the offspring of a Śūdra female from a Brāhmaṇa becomes a Brāhmaṇa in the seventh generation, only one conclusion is possible, viz., that Śūdra blood runs through the veins of the

Brāhmaṇas of the present day, if they are descendants of the Brāhmaṇas of the time of Manu and Yājñavalkya.

It is, however, the inscriptions that throw the best light on this question, and actually enable us to trace what foreign tribes were incorporated into Hindu society. As inscriptions are contemporary records, their historical accuracy cannot be questioned or their importance overrated. Indian epigraphy commences with the reign of Aśoka, the Buddhist emperor of India. In his Rock Edict XIII occur the following words—

*ese ca mukhamute vijaye Devānāhpriyasa yo dharma-vijayo /
so ca puna ladho Devānāhpriyasa iha ca sarvesu ca āṁtesu ā
chasu pi yojana-satesu yatra Āṁtiyoka nāma Yona-rājā paraṁ ca
tena Āṁtiyokena cature rājāno Turamāye nāma Āṁtikini nāma
Maka nāma Alikasundaro nāma /⁶*

Here five princes are named, viz., Āṁtiyoka, Turamāya, Āṁtikini, Maka and Alikasundara. They have been universally identified with the Greek kings Antiochus Soter, king of Syria; Ptolemy Philadelphus, king of Egypt; Antigonus Gonatas, king of Macedonia; and Alexander, king of Epirus.⁷ Now it is worthy of note that Antiochus is herein called *Yona-rājā*, i.e., the Yavana king. *Yavana* was, therefore, a term used in ancient times to denote the Greeks, and was perhaps, in the first instance, the Indian form of the word *Ionian*.⁸ The Greeks first penetrated into India with Alexander the Great: but their supremacy about this time was short-lived, as it was completely overthrown by Gandragupta, the founder of the Maurya dynasty, soon after Alexander's death. But though the Greeks were thus driven out of India, they maintained their power east of Persia

⁶ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. II, pp. 463-64.

⁷ Smith, *Early History of India*, p. 173. [Add—‘Magas of Cyrene.’
Āṁtiyoka is Antiochus II Theos—D. C. S.]

⁸ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. IV, p. 245.

and close to the Hindukush in the province called Bactriana, and succeeded in again establishing their sway over the Panjab and occasionally extending it as far east and south as the Jamunā and Kathiawad, when the Maurya was supplanted by the Śuṅga dynasty. One such Greek prince is referred to by Patañjali (c. 150 B.C.) in the well-known passages of his *Mahābhāṣya*, viz., *arunād = Yavanah Sāketam* and *arunād = Yavano Madhyamikām*, which are given by him as instances of *lāñ* or the Imperfect Tense. The Imperfect Tense has thus been defined by Patañjali : *parokṣe ca loka-vijñāte prayuktur = darśana-viṣaye*, i.e., this tense is used by a person when the event described was not witnessed by him, but is known to the people, and was capable of being witnessed by him.⁹ Obviously, therefore, the sieges of Sāketa and Madhyamikā by the Yavana king took place when Patañjali lived. Sāketa is generally identified with Oudh, and Madhyamikā with Nagarī, now an obscure village, six miles to the north of Citod, Udaipur State.¹⁰ Now, the Greek prince, who is identified with this Yavana conqueror, is Menander¹¹ who, according to Strabo, penetrated to the

9 [On Pāṇini, 3.2.111 (*an-adyatane lāñ*). For the Yavana invasion, see the *Yugapurāṇa* section of the *Gārgīśamhitā* (JRAS, 1963, pp. 7 ff.)—D. C. S.]

10 Smith; *op. cit.*, pp. 187, 189, and 204. [Read *Ayodhyā* for *Oudh*.—D. C. S.]

11 V. A. Smith also adopts this view. But I think that the Yavana king, contemporaneous with Patañjali, was Demetrius. I hold with Percy Gardner that Menander flourished c. 110 B.C. (*British Museum Catalogue of Greek and Scythic Kings of India*, Introd., p. xxxiii) or perhaps even a little later. This agrees with the statement of the author of the *Periplus* (c. 89 A.D.) that the coins of Apollodotus and Menander were in circulation in his time at Barygaza, i.e. Broach (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. VIII, p. 143). This also shows that one was the immediate successor of the other and agrees with the fact that wherever the coins of Menander are found, the coins of Apollodotus are also found. But the reference to the Yavana king by Patañjali shows that his conquests were ephemeral, and the Greek power certainly did not last for

'Isamus' (Jamunā) and subjugated Patalene (the Indus Delta) and Saraostos (Surāṣṭra, i.e., Kathiawad). This statement is corroborated by the curious observation of the author of the *Periplus* (c. 89 A.D.) that the coins of Menander and Apollodotus were current in his time at the port of Barygaza (Bharukaccha, i.e., Broach). Even to this day, his coins are found in Kathiawad in the south and as far as the Jamunā in the east. On the obverse of the coins is the legend, *Basileus Suthros Menandros* in Greek language and characters, and on the reverse the legend *Maharajasa Tradarasa Menandrasa* in the Pāli language and the ancient Brāhmī characters.¹³ One is the exact translation of the other. Now we have a Pāli work entitled *Milindapañha* (Queries of Milinda), in which Milinda is spoken of as a Yavana king and also as having been converted to Buddhism, after a very long and interesting discussion, by the Buddhist Doctor Nāgasena.¹⁴ This Milinda has been commonly identified with Menander. The statement of the Pāli work is corroborated by a coin of Menander, which bears the wheel of the law (*dharma-cakra*),¹⁵ the symbol of Buddhism, and which conjoins, with his name in the legend, the epithet *dhārmika* (i.e., *dhramika*) an essentially Buddhist expression, instead of the usual title *tradara*. So dear became Menander to the Buddhists that, according to a legend mentioned by Plutarch, no less than seven cities fought after his death for his ashes.¹⁶

two consecutive reigns. [For *Catalogue*, read *Catalogue of the Coins* and for *India*, read *Bactria and India*.—D. C. S.]

12 Smith, *Catalogue of the Coins in the Indian Museum, Calcutta*, Vol. I, p. 22 ff. [The Indian script used in writing the legend is Kharosthī and not Brāhmī. Read *Basileōs Sōteros Menandrou*.—D.C.S.]

13 *Sacred Books of the East*, Vols. XXXV and XXXVI.

14 *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XXXII, p. 430.

15 *Ariana Antiqua*, p. 283; *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. VIII, p. 337.

Let us now see how private individuals from amongst the Yavanas were disposed towards Buddhism. In inscriptions of the caves of West India, we find Yavanas frequently mentioned as making gifts in connection with Buddhist Stūpas and monasteries. In the Kārlī caves near Poona, we have the following inscriptions¹⁶—

1. *Dhenukākaṭā Yavanasa Sihadhyāna thāmbho dānaṁ*, “The gift, [viz.] a pillar, of a Yavana from Dhenukākaṭā [named] Siṁhadhayya.”
2. *Dhenukākaṭā Dhāmma-Yavanasa*, “[The gift] of a Yavana [named] Dhamma from Dhenukākaṭā.”

Now, these Yavanas are from Dhenukākaṭā, and the names of both are Hindu. *Siṁhadhayya* corresponds to *Siṁhadhairyā*, and that *Dhamma* corresponds to *Dharma* goes without saying.

The following inscriptions¹⁷ from the Junnar caves are also worthy of note—

1. *Yavanasa Irilasa Gatāna deyadhama be podhiyo*, “Two cisterns—the religious benefaction of the Yavana Irila of (i.e., belonging to) the Gartas.”
2. *Yavanasa Ciṭasa Gatānam bhojaṇa-maṭapo deyadhama saghe*, “The dining hall—the religious benefaction to the Saṅgha—of the Yavana Ciṭa of (i.e., belonging to) the Gartas.”
3. *Yavanasa Cañḍānam deyadhama gabhadāra*, “The door of an interior apartment—the religious benefaction of the Yavana Cañḍa.”

Of these Yavana names, only Irila appears to be foreign. Ciṭa corresponds to *Citra*, and *Cañḍa* to *Candra*, both undoubtedly Hindu names.

16 *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VII, pp. 53 and 55. [*Sihadhyāna*—*Siṁhadhvajānām*.—D. C. S.]

17 *Arch. Surv. West. Ind.*, Vol. IV, p. 92 ff., Nos. 5, 8, 16.

There is only one Yavana inscription in the Nasik caves.¹⁸ It runs thus—

*sidham̄ Otarāhasa Datāmitiyakasa Yonakasa Dharmadeva-putasa
Idrāgnidatasa dhaṁmātmanā imāṁ leṇāṁ*, etc., "This dwelling [was granted] by the religious-souled Indrāgnidatta, son of Dharmadeva, a Yavana, a Northerner and a resident of Dattāmitra."

Now, the owner of this cave-dwelling is a Yavana, i.e., Greek. But his name is Indrāgnidatta and his father's, Dharmadeva, both decidedly Hindu names. He was a resident of Dattāmitra, a town, according to the *Mahābhāṣya*, in Sauvira contiguous to modern Sind and supposed to have been founded by the Greek prince Demetrius.¹⁹

What are the facts then? The West Indian cave inscriptions give us names of certain private Yavana or Greek individuals who made gifts to the Buddhist Caityas and monasteries and consequently were unquestionably Buddhists. And not only did they embrace Buddhism, but all except one borrowed Hindu names also; in short, if the word *Yavana* had not been mentioned in these inscriptions, their foreign extraction would have remained undetected.

For a long while, antiquarians were under the impression that the Greeks had become Buddhists only and that none of them had embraced Hinduism. But this impression is now proved erroneous by the discovery of a pillar inscription, of about the second century B.C., at Besnagar in the Gwalior territory in Malwa.²⁰ It records the erection of a *Garuḍa-dhvaja* in honour of Vāsudeva, the god of gods, by Heliodora, son of Diya, come

18 *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VIII, p. 90.

19 *Trans. Inter. Cong. Or.*, 1874, p. 345. [Kramadiśvara's *Śaṅkṣipitasāra*.—D. C. S.]

20 *Jour. R. As. Soc.*, 1909, p. 1089; *Jour. Bomb. As. Soc.*, Vol. XXIII, p. 104.

from king Antalikita (Antialkidas) to the court of king Bhāgabhadra. Heliodora is called a *Yavana-dūta*, i.e., a Greek ambassador, and his and his father's names, viz., Heliodora and Diya, undoubtedly correspond to the Greek *Heliodorus* and *Dion*. The very fact that he erected a *Garuḍa* column shows that, though a Greek, he had become a Hindu and a *Vaiṣṇava*; and if any doubt is still entertained, it is completely set at rest by the fact that he is actually styled *Bhāgavata* in the inscription.

So far with regard to the Yavanas or Greek princes and private individuals. The Yavanas were succeeded by the Śaka kings who also were foreigners. The Imperial dynasty was reigning in the Panjab and eastern parts of Afghanistan; but their might had overshadowed the northern, central and western parts of India also.²¹ The

21 Smith speaks of this family of kings as an Indo-Parthian dynasty, probably because some of them bear Iranic names. But if many foreign kings, as we know, adopted Hindu names, there is no wonder that some of these Śaka kings assumed Iranic names. The very fact that they have such names as Moas and Azas amongst them, which are believed to be Scythian, shows that they are Indo-Scythian, and not Indo-Parthian. Their Śaka extraction is indicated by the mention of Sakastana in the Mathurā Lion-capital inscription, made with patriotic feelings. In spite of what some scholars have said to the contrary, I maintain with F. W. Thomas (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IX, p. 139) that it refers to the "country of Śakas," which perhaps in those days did not merely designate the modern Sistān, but included the Indo-Scythia referred to by the author of the *Periplus* and Ptolemy. Gondophares' dynasty, however, was, in all likelihood, Indo-Parthian, as there is not a single Scythian name therein. I still stick to my old view regarding the order of succession of this Śaka dynasty founded by Vonones. I also stick to my view that the Mathurā date 72 of Śoḍasa, the Taxila date 78 of Patika, the Takht-i-Bahī date 103 of Gondophares, and the Panjtar date 122 of a Guṣaṇa prince, whose name is lost, are years of one and the same era. But I am now inclined to refer them all to the Vikrama era. The dates of Kaniṣka and his successors, I would now refer to the Śaka era. This is not the place to discuss this subject; but I shall seize an early opportunity of advancing arguments in support of these views.

remoter provinces of the kingdom were governed by its viceroys called *Kṣatrapa*, i.e., *Satrap*, who, however, before long, succeeded in setting aside the suzerain power and declaring their independence. One such *Kṣatrapa* family was settled round about Takṣaśilā, the Greek *Taxila*, which was identified by Cunningham with Shāhḍherī in the Panjab, and another at Mathurā. A third held sway over Kathiawad and Malwa, and a fourth over the Deccan. Now, it is all but certain that most of the members of the imperial Śaka dynasty were Buddhists. Thus Spalirises, Azas and Moas, the second, third and sixth princes of this dynasty, and Spalahores and Spalgadames style themselves on their coins *dhramika*, i.e., *dhārmika*, an expression, which, as said above, is peculiarly Buddhistic.²² Their coins also bear the symbol of a wheel which reminds us of the Buddhist *dharma-cakra*. Of the *Kṣatrapa* families, two were converts to Buddhism. The well-known Mathurā Lion-capital inscription²³ records the erection of a *Stūpa* over a relic of the Buddha by Nadasi-kasa, wife of the *Mahākṣatrapa* Rājūla, and the various benefactions connected therewith by the other members of his family such as Abuhola, Hayuara, Hana and so forth. The *Mahākṣatrapa* Rājūla here referred to ruled over the Eastern Panjab, North-East Rajasthan and the province round about Mathurā. There was another *Kṣatrapa* family, as I have said above, reigning at Takṣaśilā. One of the *Kṣatrapas* of this family, called Kusulaka, was Liaka. And a copper-plate inscription found in the Panjab describes his son Patika as raising a *Stūpa* over the relics of the Buddha and making a grant of land for its upkeep.

The other two *Kṣatrapa* families were, however, followers

22 *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XXXII, p. 429. [Read 'Azes or Aja', 'Maues or Moa'.—D. C. S.]

23 *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IX, pp. 141 ff.

of the Brahmanic religion. I have said above that one was holding Kathiawad and Malwa and the other the Deccan. The inscriptions of this last Kṣatrapa family are found in the Nasik, Karli and Junnar caves. A part of an inscription²⁴ relating to them at Nasik may be quoted as follows—

*siddham rājñāḥ Kṣaharātasya Kṣatrapasya Nahapānasya jāmātrā
Dīnika-putreṇa Uṣavadātena trigośatasahasra-dena.....
devatābhyo Brāhmaṇebhyo ca śoḍaśa-grāma-dena anuvarṣam
Brāhmaṇa-śata-sāhasrī-bhojāpavitrā Prabhāse punya-tīrthe
Brāhmaṇebhyoḥ aśta-bhāryā-pradena, etc., etc.*

The donor referred to in this inscription is Uṣavadāta, i.e., Rṣabhadatta or Vṛṣabhadatta. His wife's name, as given in another Nasik inscription, is Saṅghamitā, i.e., Saṅghamitrā. Both of these are indisputably Hindu names. But, in a third Nasik inscription, we are distinctly told that he was a Śaka.²⁵ His foreign origin is also indicated by the names of his father and father-in-law. The former is called Dīnika and the latter Nahapāna, as will be seen from the inscription just quoted. It will easily be admitted that neither Dīnika nor Nahapāna is an Indian, i.e., Hindu, name. Nahapāna again is styled a *Kṣatrapa*, and is said to be of the Kṣaharāta family. Kṣaharāta is a non-Hindu name. And *Kṣatrapa* also is not a Sanskrit word; at any rate, it is unknown to Sanskrit literature. It is the Sanskritised form of the old Persian title *Khshathrapāvan*, which is written in English as *Satrap*. All these things unmistakably point to the alien origin of Uṣavadāta and, in particular, to his having been a Śaka, though his and his wife's names are distinctly Hindu. Now let us see what the remainder of the inscription tells us.

24 *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VIII, p. 78.

25 *Ibid.*, pp. 85-86. {Strictly speaking, 'Saṅghamitrā' is Buddhistic.—D. C. S.]

R̥ṣbhadatta is called *tri-go-śata-sahasra-da*, i.e., the giver of three hundred thousand kine. He is further spoken of as having granted sixteen villages to the gods and Brāhmaṇas. He is also stated to have furnished eight Brāhmaṇas with the means of marriage at the holy place Prabhāsa, i.e., Somnāth-paṭṭan in Kathiawad; in other words, he incurred the merit of accomplishing eight Brāhmaṇa marriages. And, to crown the whole, he is said to have been *anuvarṣaīn Brāhmaṇa-śata-sāhasrī-bhojāpayitṛ*, i.e., to have annually fed one hundred thousand Brāhmaṇas. This reminds us, as R. G. Bhandarkar has aptly said,²⁶ of the grand feast given, not many years ago, to Brāhmaṇas by the late Mahārājā Sindhia of Gwalior. These charities undoubtedly stamp Uṣavadāta as a very staunch adherent of the Brāhmaṇical religion. Yet in origin he was a Śaka and, therefore, a foreigner.

The rule of this Kṣatrapa family, called Kṣaharāta, over the Deccan did not last for a long time. It was speedily overthrown by Gautamiputra Śātakarṇi and his son, Vāsiṣṭhiputra Pulumāyi, of the Śātavāhana or Śālivāhana dynasty. Another Kṣatrapa family, I have said, ruled over Kathiawad and Malwa. Its capital was Ujjayinī. It produced no less than nineteen rulers and its sway endured for no less than 270 years up to A.D. 388. The founder of this family was Caṣṭana and his father was Ghsāmotika, both indubitably foreign names. But the names of all his successors are Hindu, e.g., the son of Caṣṭana himself was Jayadāman, and his son was Rudradāman. Though perhaps the ending *dāman* may be supposed, as Rapson says, to be the same as the suffix *dames* in such names as Spalagadames and so forth,²⁷ the first components such as

26 *Early History of the Dekkan*, p. 41.

27 *Catalogue of Indian Coins*, Introd., p. cv.

jaya and *rudra*, are unquestionably Hindu. About this Rudradāman, his rock-inscription at Junagadh says—

*śabd - ārtha - gāndharva - nyāy - ādyānām vidyānām mahatīnām
pāraṇa-dhāraṇa-vijñāna-prayog-āvāpta-vipula-kīrtinā*,²⁸

“Who has obtained profuse fame by studying and remembering, by the knowledge and practice of grammar, music, logic and other great lores.”

Rudradāman thus not only bore a Hindu name but had also made himself thoroughly conversant with Hindu sciences. But he was by origin a stranger! So perfectly Hinduised these Śaka Kṣatrapa families had become that the other royal Hindu families did not think it polluting or degrading to contract matrimonial alliances with them. The Śātavāhana dynasty, whose other variant Śālivāhana is so well known to the people of Maharashtra, and whose Hindu origin is incontrovertible, was thus connected with this Kṣatrapa family. A Kanheri cave inscription²⁹ says—

...[Vā]siṣṭhi-putrasya śrī-Śātakarṇyaḥasya devyāḥ Kārddamaka-
rājavatḥa - prabhavāyā Mahākṣatrapa - Ru[dra]-puttriyā.....śya-
viśvasyasya amātyasya Śaterakasya pāṇīya-bhājanām deyadharmaḥ.

The inscription records the gift of one Śateraka, the minister of a certain queen, whose name is lost. But she is said to have been the wife of Vāsiṣṭhiputra Śrī-Śātakarṇi, a Śātavāhana king, and daughter of a *Mahākṣatrapa* called Ru[dra]. This Rudra has rightly been supposed to be Rudradāman by Bühler. Here then we find that a Śātavāhana prince named Vāsiṣṭhiputra Śrī-Śātakarṇi, who, as shown by me elsewhere,³⁰ was the second son of Gautamiputra Śātakarṇi, the exterminator of the Kṣaharāta Kṣatrapa family, had actually been married to

28 *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VIII, p. 44, line 13.

29 *Arch. Surv. West. Ind.*, Vol. V, p. 78.

30 *Journ. Bomb. As. Soc.*, Vol. XXIII, pp. 72-73

a daughter of the *Mahāksatrapa* Rudradāman. These Śaka kings had thus become so thoroughly Hindusied that another Hindu royal dynasty had no scruples whatever, social or religious, in entering into matrimonial relationship with them.

Let us now see what the predilections of private Śaka individuals were. At Nasik, there are two cave inscriptions which speak of their benefactions. One is as follows—

*siddham Śakasa Dāmacikasa lekhakasa Vudhikasa Viṣṇudata-putasa Daśapura-vāthavasa leṇa podhiyo ca do.....*³¹

The inscription records the gift of a dwelling cave and two cisterns by Vudhika, i.e., Vṛddhika, son of Viṣṇudatta, a Śaka and a resident of Daśapura, i.e., Mandasaur in the Gwalior State. The names Vṛddhika and Viṣṇudatta are Hindu, and both would have passed for Hindus, if their Śaka extraction had not been specified. The other inscription³² refers itself to the reign of an Ābhīra king called Īśvarasena, and then runs as follows—

...Śak-Āgnivarmanāḥ duhitrā Gaṇapakasya Rebhilaśya bhāryayā Gaṇapakasya Viśvavarmasya mātrā Śakanikayā upāsikayā Viṣṇudattayā.....gilāna-bheṣaj-ārthām akṣayanīvī prayuktā /

The inscription records the gift of a permanent endowment, for procuring medicine to the sick, by one Viṣṇudattā. She is called an *upāsikā*, a female Buddhist lay-worshipper. She is styled Śakanikā, and is stated to have been the daughter of a Śaka called Agnivarman. She was the wife of a Gaṇapaka Rebhila and mother of a Gaṇapaka Viśvavarman. Now, it is worthy of note that Viṣṇudattā's

31. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VIII, p. 95.

32 *Ibid.*, p. 88. [A recently discovered inscription points to the occupation of the Ikṣvāku capital in the Nagarjunikonda valley, Guntur District, Andhra Pradesh, by the Ābhīra king Vasuṣena in 278 A.D. See *ibid.*, Vol. XXXIV, pp. 197 ff—D. C. S.]

father is called Śaka Agnivarman. He was, therefore, a Śaka. But his name, viz. Agnivarman, is distinctly Hindu, and what is strange is that, as the ending suffix *varman* shows, he was at that time looked upon as a Kṣatriya. Gaṇapaka too, like Śaka, must have been a tribal name, but we have no means of determining whether it was the name of an indigenous or foreign tribe. Being the daughter of a Śaka, Viṣṇudattā is called a Śakānikā, though married to a Gaṇapaka. This reminds us of the present Rājpūt princesses, who are known at their husbands' homes by the tribal name of their father. Thus the ruling dynasty of Jodhpur is Rāthod; but the first queen of the present Mahārājā is styled Hādījī, i.e., the daughter of a Hādā, a sub-division of the Cohāns, to which belongs the Bundī family whence she has sprung.

Almost synchronous with the Śakas were the Ābhīras, another foreign horde, which made incursions into India both south and east, and gave their name to the provinces where they settled. We have thus a tract of land in the Mirzapur District., U. P., called Ahaurā, which is a corruption of the Sanskrit *Ābhīravātaka*. There is another province not far from Jhānsī, doubtless called Āhirwār after the Āhīrs established there. The Ābhīras carried the arms even so far south as the Deccan. The Purāṇas are unanimous in saying that, after the Andhrabṛtyas, the Deccan was held by the Ābhīras, and quite in consonance with this, an inscription has been found at Nāsik which is dated in the reign of an Ābhīra king. Now, that the Ābhīras are foreigners is indubitable. Both in the *Viṣṇu Purāṇa* and the Musala-parvan of the *Mahābhārata*,³³ they are branded as *dasyus* or banditti and *mlecchas* or foreigners, in the story which says that Arjuna, after he had cremated the dead bodies

33 *Viṣṇu Purāṇa*, V. xxxviii; Musala-parvan, Ch. VII.

of Kṛṣṇa and Balarāma in Dvārakā, was proceeding with the Yādava widowed females to Mathurā through the Panjab, when he was waylaid by these Ābhīras and deprived of his treasures and the beautiful women. But, like all other tribes, most of them soon gave up their predatory habits, though these were not altogether unknown even so late as the 9th century A.D. Thus an inscription⁸⁴ found at Ghaṭiyālā, 22 miles north-west of Jodhpur, and on a pillar erected by Kakkuka, a prince of the feudatory Pratihāra dynasty, and dated Vikrama 918, contains the following verse :

*Rohinsakūpaka-grāmaḥ pūrvam = āśid = anāśrayaḥ /
asevyāḥ sādhulokānām Ābhīra-jana-dāruṇaḥ //*

Here we are told that the village of Rohinsakūpaka, i.e., Ghaṭiyālā, had become desolate, and unworthy of habitation for the good people in consequence of the Ābhīras. The Ābhīras of the present day, however, are free from these predatory instincts. The inscription at Nāsik just alluded to, is the same as that which specifies the grant of the Śakānikā Viṣṇudattā. The first three lines of it, with which alone we are here concerned, are—

*siddhanī rājñāḥ Mādhari-putrasya Śivadatt-ābhīra-putrasya
Ābhīrasy = Eśvarasena saṁvatsare navama 9 gimha-pakhe
cauthe 4 divasa trayodaśa 13.*

This record is dated in the reign of the king Mādhari-putra Īśvarasena, son of Śivadatta. Both Īśvarasena and Śivadatta are called Ābhīras, and yet their names are distinctly Hindu. And what is more interesting is that Īśvarasena is here called also by his metronymic, viz., Mādhari-putra, just as all the Kṣatriyas of the time are in the cave inscriptions. At Gunda in Kathiawad, another

Ābhira inscription has been found.³⁵ This is dated [Śaka] 102 - 180 A.D., and refers itself to the reign of the *Mahākṣatrapa* Rudrasirīha, son of Rudradāman. It speaks of a grant made by the *Senāpati* or commander-in-chief of the name of Rudrabhūti, son of the *Senāpati* Bāhaka. Herein Rudrabhūti is called an Ābhira: but his name, it need scarcely be added, is unmistakably Hindu.

The Ābhīras are, no doubt, the same as the Āhīrs of the present day, who are spread as far east as Bengal and as far south as the Deccan. Most of them are cowherds; but some have pursued other callings also, and are distinguished in some places from other persons of these callings by the distinctive appellation of Āhir. Thus we have simple Sonārs and Āhir Sonārs, simple Sutārs and Āhir Sutārs and so fourth, existing side by side in Khandesh. Ābhīra Brāhmaṇas are also reported to be existing in Khandesh, Gujarat and Rajasthan.³⁶ The Āhīrs were such an important tribe that they gave rise to a separate dialect. Thus in Khandesh their dialect is known as Āhirānī, which, though on the whole resembling the Marāṭhī of that District, has peculiarities of its own to such an extent as to be recognised as a separate dialect. The Āhīrs of Kathiawad and Kachh also have their own Gujarātī dialect. In olden times also, the dialect of the Ābhīras was not unknown, and it is distinctly referred to by Dandin in his *Kāvyaḍarśa* (I. 36).

After the Śakas, the Kuṣāṇas wielded imperial power over Northern India. The first prince of this dynasty was Kujula Kadphises. In the legends of his coins, he is styled *sacā-dharma-thita*, i.e., *satya-dharma-sthita*. He thus appears to have been a Buddhist.³⁷ His successor was Wema Kadphises,

35 *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. X, p. 157.

36 Wilson, *Indian Caste*, Vol II, pp. 26, 120, 177.

37 *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XXXII, p. 429.

who was, without doubt, a follower of the Brāhmaṇic religion, and, in particular, a devotee of Śiva. The legend on the reverse of his coins is *maharajasa rājadirajasa sarvaloga-iśvarasa mahiśvarasa Wima-Kāthphisasa tratarasa*.³⁸ Here the word *Mahiśvarasa* may possibly stand for the Sanskrit *Māheśvarasya*; i.e., “of a devotee of Maheśvara (Śiva)”. But that he was a Śaiva is placed beyond all doubt by the fact that the reverse of his coins bears the image of Nandin, sometimes accompanied by a figure holding a trident and a tiger-skin, i.e., doubtless Śiva.

He was succeeded by Kaniṣka, Huviṣka and Vāsudeva, though perhaps not of his lineage. And, though on their coins the figures of the Greek and Iranian deities are found, those of the Hindu divinities are not wanting. Thus the coins of Kaniṣka bear the figure of the Buddha, both in the sitting and standing postures. And, in fact, it is on his coins only that we, for the first time, find the Buddha actually figured. This may be regarded as evidence of the truth of what the Northern Buddhists assert as to Kaniṣka being their patron. During his regime and under his auspices, a conference of monks was convened to settle the Buddhist canon again, and it was at this time that the Mahāyāna school of Buddhism assumed a definite form. On the coins of his successors occur the figures of Skando (Skanda), Mahaseno (Mahāsena), Komaro (Kumāra), Bizago (Viśakha)^{38a} and Oesho (Śiva)—all from the Brāhmaṇic Pantheon. That these Kuṣāṇa kings are foreigners is indisputable. The names Kujula Kadphises, Wema Kadphises, Kaniṣka and Huviṣka by no means sound Indian. Numismatists are at one in saying that the costume of these kings, as

38 Smith, *Catalogue of the Coins in the Indian Museum, Calcutta*, p. 68.

38a [Cf. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXX, p. xii Read *Maaseno*—D. C. S.]

determined from their coins, is Turkish and their features Mongolian. And yet we find them doing homage to the Hindu divinities !

The well-known Maga or Śākadvīpi Brāhmaṇas³⁹ must be assigned to about this period. A stone inscription of Śaka 1059 = 1137-38 A.D. has been found at Govindpur⁴⁰ in the Nawada Sub-Division of the Gaya District, Bengal, which begins with the following stanza, descriptive of this community—

*Devo jīyāt = triloki-maṇir = ayam = Aruṇo yan-nivāsena puṇyah
 Śākadvīpas = sa dugdh-āmbunidhi-valayito yatra vīpre Mag-ākhyāḥ /
 vāhiṣas = tatra dvijānāṁ bhrami-likhita-tanor = Bhāsvataḥ
 sv-āṅga-muktah
 Śāmbo yān = āniṇāya svayam = iha mahitāḥ = te jagatyāṁ jayanti //*

“Hail to that gem of the three worlds, the divine Aruṇa, whose presence sanctifies the milk-ocean-encircled Śāka-dvīpa, wherein the Brāhmaṇas are named Magas ! There a race of twice-born [sprang] from the Sun’s own body, grazed by the lathe,⁴¹ whom Śāmba himself brought hither. Glorious are they, honoured in the world !”

But a detailed account of these Magas is given in the *Bhaviṣya Purāṇa*.⁴² Therein they are said to have sprung

³⁹ Weber has written a learned paper on the Magas; but I am sorry to say that it has been a sealed book to me as I do not know German and could not induce anybody to translate it for me.

⁴⁰ *Ep. Ind.*; Vol II., p. 330 ff. [The Gaya District now forms a part of the State of Bihar.—D.C.S.]

⁴¹ Cf. *bhrami-likhita-tanor*⁴⁰ of the text with *Śākadvīpe bhramiṇ
 kṛtvā rūpāni nirvartitam mama* of the *Bhaviṣya Purāṇa*, Brahma-parvan, 129. 13

⁴² Brahma-parvan, Chs. 139-42. In some MSS, instead of Nakṣubhā we have Niksubhā, and instead of Rjihva, Sujihva or Rjivāhva. So also some MSS have Jalagambu or Jaraśabda instead of Jaraśasta.

from the union of Sūrya and Nakṣubhā, daughter of the sage Rjihva, belonging to the Mihira-gotra. The account here is rather involved and not quite lucid. But the main points are clear enough. She had a son named Jaraśabda according to one manuscript, but Jaraśasta according to another. He was the originator of the Maga Brāhmaṇas. They were originally dwelling in Śāka-dvīpa, but were brought to Jambu-dvīpa, it is said, by Sāmba, son of Kṛṣṇa. Sāmba was suffering from white leprosy, and Nārada advised him to erect a temple of Sūrya on the river Candrabhāgā in order that he might be cured of his disease. This was accordingly built;⁴³ but no Brāhmaṇas undertook to perform the duties of Pujāris. Thereupon, on the advice of Gauramukha, Sāmba set out for Śāka-dvīpa and brought ten Maga families. Various details of these Brāhmaṇas are further given. But it is sufficient here to note that they were also called Bhojaka and that they wore round their waist what is called an *avyaṅga* which was originally the skin of the serpent-god Vāsuki.

A little reflection will tell us that these Magas are no other than the Magi of old Persia, who were the priestly class there. The name of their originator, we have seen, was Jaraśasta which bears a close correspondence in sound to Jarathustra (Zoroaster). *Avyāṅga* again is the Indian form of the Avestic word *aiwyāōnghen*. The *gotra* of the grandfather of Jaraśasta, as we have seen, is Mihira, which again is the Sanskritised form of Old Persian *Mihr*.

We have already seen that the Magas are mentioned

43 Candrabhāgā is the river now called Chenab, and the temple was built at Mūltān, one of whose names is Sāmbapura; the place, where the image was installed, is called Mitravana in the *Bhaviṣya Purāṇa*. For further details, see Cunningham's *Ancient Geography of India*, Vol. I, pp. 232 ff.

in the Govindpur stone inscription of 1137 A.D. But an earlier epigraphic reference to them is to be found in the *Ghaṭiyālā* inscription of Kakkuka dated Vikrama 918=861 A.D. The text of the inscription is therein said to have been drawn up by the Maga Māṭravī. Varāhamihira (c. 505 A.D.), in his *Bṛhatsaṃhitā* (IX. 19), speaks of the Magas as the proper persons to install and consecrate the image of Sūrya. To about this time (550 A.D.) belongs the manuscript found in Nepal, in which it is said that, in the Kali-yuga, the Magas and Brāhmaṇas would be regarded as of the same status.⁴⁴ Again it is worthy of note that a short account of Śāka-dvīpa, together with its population including the Magas, occurs in the *Mahābhārata*, *Bhiṣma-parvan*, Ch. XI.⁴⁵ This may be an interpolation; but it must be remembered that the epic acquired its present character by about 450 A.D.⁴⁶ and, consequently, the Magas must be supposed to have come into India before the middle of the fifth century. I think that they came with Kaniska⁴⁷ (c. 78 A.D.) who appears to have been the first Indo-Scythian prince that had espoused the Avestic faith.⁴⁸ What is specially noticeable in this connection is that it is on his coins that the name and figure of the deity Mihira for the first time are met with. Mihira, a form of the god Sūrya, was the *gotra* name of R̥jihva, grandfather of Jaraśasta, and is even now an epithet borne by many

44 *Proceedings of the Bengal Asiatic Society*, 1902, p. 3

45 The same verses are repeated in the *Bhavisya Purāṇa*, *Brahma-parvan*, 139. 74 ff

46 According to Macdonell, the epic acquired its present character by about 350 A.D. (*A History of Sanskrit Literature*, p. 287) But the mention of Hüna in it requires us, I think, to assign it to 450 A.D.

47 I have now come to regard that Kaniska, in all likelihood, flourished about this time and that he was the originator of the era which was afterwards known as Śaka-kāla.

48 *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVII, pp. 89 ff

Śākadvīpi Brāhmaṇas. The Magas, in all probability, first came to India with Kaniṣka as his Avestic priests.

Such was the origin of the Maga Brāhmaṇas. Yet how thoroughly they have imbibed Hindu faith and literature! The Govindpur inscription, referred to above, speaks of one Gaṅgādhara as having built a tank. He was also the composer of the inscription. He gives us a short description of his relatives, from which it appears that his was a poets' family. His father, Manoratha, is styled Nūtana-Kālidāsa, and his grandfather Cakrapāṇi is compared to Vālmīki. Many others are praised more or less for their poetic talents. His is not a mere empty praise, because they were his relatives; for the work *Saduktikarṇāmṛta* (1205 A.D.) of Śridharadāsa, an anthology culled chiefly from Bengal poets,⁴⁹ makes mention of no less than six of them (including him) and cites their verses also. Nay, Varāhamihira, one of the most celebrated astronomers of India appears to have been a Maga Brāhmaṇa. Bhaṭṭ-Otpala, who has commented on his works, tells us that he was a Magadha Brāhmaṇa.⁵⁰ *Magadha* here does not, I think, mean an inhabitant of Magadha, but a Maga himself. The *Bhaviṣya Purāṇa* distinctly tells us that *Magāṁ dhyāyanti te yasmāt tena te Magadhāḥ smṛtāḥ*.⁵¹ This is corroborated by his and his father's names, viz., Varāhamihira and Ādityadāsa, one of whose components is a name of Sūrya.

In the Jodhpur State, there is a class of Brāhmaṇas known as Sevak and also Bhojak, most of whom are religious dependents of the Osvāl Śrāvaks. They call themselves Śākadvīpi Brāhmaṇas, and keep images of Sūrya in their houses, which they worship on Sundays, when they eat

49 *Zeit. Deut. Morg. Ges.*, Vol. XXXVI, p. 511.

50 Colebrooke, *Miscellaneous Essays*, Vol. II., p. 477, note.

51 *Brahma-parvan*, 117. 55.

once only.⁵² Formerly they used to wear a necklace resembling the cast-off skin of a serpent, no doubt corresponding to the *avyaṅga*, which was supposed to be the cast-off skin of Vāsuki. But this practice has recently fallen into desuetude.⁵³ The Parāśari Brāhmaṇas of Pushkar were also originally known as Sevaks and Śākadvipi Brāhmaṇas. At any rate, they were so known till the time of the Jaipur king Jayasiṅha II.⁵⁴ The Sevaks say that their caste people are called Śākadvipi in the east, Sītāpatrī in the south, and Pāṇḍe round about Delhi and Agra. The Pujāris of the temples of Jagadīśa and Jvālāmukhī in North India are, it is said, Śākadvipi Brāhmaṇas.

After the overthrow of the Kuṣāṇas, the Haihayas poured into India. The *Harivaiṇśa* and the *Viṣṇu Purāṇa*⁵⁵ state that they seized the kingdom of the indigenous Indian king Bāhu and that they were assisted in this expedition by the Śakas, Yavanas, Pāradas, Kāmbojas, Pahlavas and Khasas. Bāhu retired to a forest and killed himself. One of his wives, who was pregnant at that time, went to the hermitage of Aurva Bhārgava, and was there delivered of a son called Sagara. The latter, in course of time, learnt the use of various miraculous weapons from the sage, and made a fearful slaughter of the Haihayas. He then turned his arms against the Śakas, Yavanas, etc. ; but the sage Vasiṣṭha intervened, and Sagara had to content himself with depriving them of the true religion and degrading them as Kṣatriyas. Now, as the Haihayas

52 *Census Report of the Jodhpur State (Hindi)*, 1891, Vol. III, pp. 320 ff.

53 This information I received from Munshi Deviprasad of Jodhpur.

54 I owe this information to Pandit Gaurishankar Ojha of Ajmer.

55 *Harivaiṇśa*, I. 13-14; *Viṣṇu Purāṇa*, IV, 3. 16 ff. [From the Historical Section of the Purāṇas, the Haihayas, unlike the Kalacuris, do not appear to be foreigners.—D.C.S.]

are here classed with the Śakas, Yavanas Pāradas, Kāmbojas and so forth, there can be little doubt that they were regarded as *mlecchas*, i.e. foreigners, at about the close of the fourth century A.D., when the *Harivamśa* was composed. It does not seem difficult to determine which part of India they held. In the *Anuśāsana-parvan* of the *Mahābhārata* and also in the *Harivamśa*,⁵⁶ we are informed that the thousand-armed Haihaya king Kārtavīrya-Arjuna reigned over the whole earth from Māhiśmatī, which, I think, has been rightly identified by Fleet with Māndhātā on the Narmadā in the Nimar District.

The Kalacuris of Tripuri and Ratanpur, in many of their inscriptions, call themselves, Haihayas and trace their lineage to Kārtavīrya.⁵⁷ They were probably a sept of the Haihayas. Their power, however, does not date earlier than *circa* 875 A.D. A branch of this family went to Western India, and established itself at Kalyāṇī, under the leadership of Bijjala, by supplanting the Cālukya dynasty.⁵⁸

This is seen from the fact that the formal preambles of their records always style them "lord of Kālañjara, the best of towns." Kālañjara is unquestionably the celebrated hill-fort of Kāliñjar in the Banda District (Bundelkhand), U. P., in the very heart of the territory of these Kalacuris. But the earliest Kalacuri family, of which records have been found and which appears to be an imperial dynasty, was that ruling over the Nasik and Khandesh Districts, Gujarat and Malwa, and reigning in all likelihood at

56 *Anuśāsana-parvan*, 153. 3; *Harivamśa*, v. 1868.

57 *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. I, pp. 263; Vol. II, p. 5; vide also *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XII, pp. 253, 268.

58 *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. I, Pt. II, pp. 225 ff. and 468 ff.

Māhiṣmatī. One copper-plate grant of this dynasty has been found at Abhona in the Nasik District, and is dated in the year 347 (595 A.D.) in the reign of the Kāṭaccuri king Śāṅkaragāṇa.⁵⁹ The grant was issued by the Kalacuri prince when he was at Ujjayani. Another, discovered at Sarsavni⁶⁰ in the Pādrā Sub-Division of the Baṭodā State, is dated in the year 361 (609-10 A.D.), and refers itself to the reign of Buddharāja who is no doubt the same as the Kalatsuri prince of that name represented in the Mahākūta pillar inscription to have been defeated by the Cālukya prince Maṅgaleśa.⁶¹ Besides the Kalacuris, there appear to be some chieftains, at any rate in Southern India, who were known simply as Haihayas. Thus in the time of the Later Cālukya prince Someśvara I, one of his feudatories was the *Mahāmaṇḍaleśvara* Revarasa, with the title of "Lord of Māhiṣmatī, the best of towns", and described as belonging to the family of Kārtavīrya.⁶² During the regime of the Cālukya king Vikramāditya VI, a portion of the Nizam's Dominions round about Kammarawadi was governed by his feudatory Yānemarasa, with the title of "Lord of Māhiṣmatī, the best of towns", and belonging to the Ahihaya-vāṁśa.⁶³ Similarly, a feudatory of the Cālukya sovereign, Perma-Jagadēkamalla II, was one Revarasa with the same title and pertaining to the same family.⁶⁴ The Ahihaya-vāṁśa, here referred to, must undoubtedly be the same as Haihaya, as is clearly proved by the mention of Māhiṣmatī, the old capital of the Haihayas.

59 *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IX, pp. 297 ff.

60 *Ibid.*, Vol. VI, pp. 297 ff.

61 *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIX, pp. 17-18.

62 *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. I, Pt. II, p. 439.

63 *Ibid.*, p. 451.

64 *Ibid.*, p. 457.

All the records of the Kalacuri dynasties, whether of Cedi, Ratanpur or Gujarat-Malwa, are dated in an era of their own. This era is also employed by princes of other dynasties such as the Uccakalpa, Traikūṭaka⁶⁵ and so forth, who were in all probability their feudatories. The epoch of this era is 249 A.D., when, therefore, the power of the Haihayas must be supposed to have been firmly established. The legends of Paraśurāma freeing the earth of the Kṣatriyas are too well-known to be repeated here. But, if we read between the lines, we find that he bore a grudge only against the Haihayas, with whose slaughter he was chiefly concerned. Paraśurāma is, in the *Mahābhārata*, represented as residing in the Mahendra mountain, and, in the *Harivamśa*, in the Sahya. And if there is a grain of truth in the legends, what they perhaps imply is that Paraśurāma, or some Brāhmaṇa hero in the South, put an effectual stop to the further incursions and encroachments of the Haihayas who wanted to occupy Southern India.

Traces of the name Kalacuri are still found amongst the Marāthās⁶⁶ and Rājpūts of the Central Provinces. The Kāyastha Prabhus⁶⁷ of Maharashtra at any rate claim descent from Sahasrārjuna. There is a sept of the Sūryavamśi Rājpūts in Bihār called Harihobans,⁶⁸ who appear to be the same as Haihayavaṇś. There are Hayobansas also in U. P.⁶⁹

After the power of the Kuṣāṇas was overthrown and that of the Guptas established, India enjoyed respite for about

65 The Traikūṭakas were probably not feudatories (as they seem to have struck coins), but were a sept of the Haihayas, like the Kalacuris. [The Uccakalpa kings apparently used the Gupta era.—D.C.S.]

66 Birje, *Who are the Marathas?*, p. 108.

67 *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. XIII, Pt. I, p. 87.

68 Risley, *The Tribes and Castes of Bengal*, Vol. I, p. 317.

69 Elliot, *The Races of the N.-W. Provinces of India*, Vol. I, p. 128.

two centuries. It was during the first half of the 6th century that the Hūṇas penetrated into India with the allied tribes, viz. Gurjaras, Maitrakas and so forth, eclipsed the Gupta power, and occupied Northern and Central India. The two Hūṇa sovereigns, whose names have been preserved, are Toramāṇa and his son Mihirakula.⁷⁰ Both these names are non-Indian. Mihirakula no doubt apparently looks like a Hindu name, but is, in reality, the Sanskritised form of the Persian *Mihrgul*, "Rose of the Sun".⁷¹ We do not know whether Tormāṇa had become a Hindu; but certain it is that Mihirakula had become a convert to Hinduism. On some of his coins we have, on the reverse, a bull—the emblem of Śiva—with the legend *jayatu Viṣah*, "victorious be the Bull".⁷² Again, in a Mandasaur inscription, he is said to have bent his neck to none but Śiva.⁷³ This is an unmistakable indication of his having become a Hindu and adopted the worship of the god Śiva. When he was defeated and driven out of North and Central India by the conjoint effort of Narasimhagupta Bālāditya in the east and Yaśodharman in the west, he, according to the *Rājatarāṅgini*, retired to Kashmir, established an empire there, and was the founder of the family, Hūṇa of course, which for long held that country and were staunch adherents of Brāhmaṇism.

That the Hūṇas are White Huns or Ephthalites and consequently foreign barbarians is incontrovertible. And yet, as early as the 11th century, they had come to be regarded as Kṣatriyas; and an inscription informs us that a Cedi king Yaśahkarna married a Hūṇa princess of the name

70 Fleet, *Gupta Inscrs.*, pp. 159, 162.

71 *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. I, Pt. I, p. 75, note 6.

72 Smith, *Catalogue of the Coins in the Indian Museum, Calcutta*, p. 236.

73 Fleet, *op. cit.*, p. 146.

of Āhalladevi. The Hūṇas have become so thoroughly Hinduised that they are looked upon as one of the thirty-six Rājpūt families believed to be genuine and pure. But so far as my inquiries go, they have no longer any separate existence as a clan like the Cavāns, Pavārs and so forth. Hūṇa is nowadays found only as a family name in the Panjab, or as the name of a sub-division of such castes as Rebhārī.⁷⁴

I have stated above that another foreign horde that came into India with the Hūṇa was the Gūjar, which has been Sanskritised into Gurjara or Gūrjara. The modern province of Gujarāt in the Bombay Presidency and the Districts of Gujarāt and Gujarānwālā in the Panjab are no doubt called after the Gūjars, who came and settled there. The name Gujarāt is not a corruption of *Gurjara-rāṣṭra* as is too commonly supposed, but of *Gurjaratrā*. In inscriptions of about the 9th century, found near Jodhpur, a province called Gurjaratrā is mentioned, and the Daulatpurā copper-plate grant of Bhoja I and a Kālāñjara inscription enable us to infer that it embraced at least the modern Districts of Didwānā and Parbatsar of the Jodhpur State.⁷⁵ A fourth Gujarāt (i.e. Gurjaratrā) is mentioned by Al-Bīrūnī (A.D. 970-1031).⁷⁶ To the south-east of Kanauj, he says, lay Guzarāt, the capital of which was Bazāna also known as Nārāyan, which is identified with Nārāyaṇpur in the north-easternmost part of the Jaipur territory. In fact, the Gūjars still abound in this part of Jaipur, and the southern portion of the Alwar State. And this province was no

74 *Census Report of the Jodhpur State* (Hindi), 1891, Vol. III, p. 570

75 *Journ. Bomb. As Soc.*, Vol. XXI, pp. 414-15.

76 Sachau, *Alberuni's India*, Vol. I, p. 202; *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. I, Pt. I, p. 520. [Cf. Sircar, *Stud. Geog. Anc. Med. Ind.*, pp. 160 ff. —D C. S.]

doubt in old days held by a dynasty named Gurjara Pratihāra, as is shown by an inscription found at Rājor.⁷⁷ Therein Mathanadeva, a prince of this family, is represented to have granted the village of Vyāghrapātakā to the god Lacchukeśvara named after his mother Lacchukā. The fields of this village, it is said, were cultivated by the Gurjaras, which shows that the Gūjars had occupied and settled in that country in the 10th century at the latest. But it was in Western Rajasthan that they appear to have established themselves first. For, as informed by the Chinese pilgrim Hiuen-tsang who came to India in the earlier part of the seventh century, that part of Rajasthan was known as the Kiu-che-lo (i.e., Gurjara) country, with its capital at Pi-lo-mo-lo, i.e., Bhinmāl in the Jaswantpurā District, Jodhpur State.⁷⁸ Hiuen-tsang tells us that the king was looked upon as a Kṣatriya. This is interesting because it shows that as early as the first half of the seventh century, i.e., about a century after their coming into India, the Gūjars had become Hindus and actually acquired the rank of Kṣatriyas. About the middle of the 8th century, they had extended their supremacy far beyond Rajasthan, carried arms as far eastward as Bengal, and established themselves at Kanauj. They are commonly styled as the imperial Pratihāra dynasty. They have been called 'Juzr kings' by the Arab travellers and writers, Abu Zaid, Al Masudi and others, and are spoken of as constantly fighting with the Rāṣtrakūṭas in the South.⁷⁹ This agrees with the allusions to the Gurjaras made in the Rāṣtrakūṭa records. If any further proof is needed to show that the Pratihāras were

77 *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. III, p. 266.

78 Beal, *Buddhist Records of the Western World*, Vol. II, p. 270; *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. VI, p. 63.

79 *Journ. Bomb. As. Soc.*, Vol. XXI, pp. 422-24.

Gūjars, it is supplied by the phrase Gurjara-Pratīhāra itself, occurring in the Rājor inscription just referred to. The phrase must, of course, be interpreted to mean "the Pratīhāras who were Gurjaras." There can, therefore, be no doubt that the imperial Pratīhāra dynasty, reigning at Kanauj, was of the Gūjar race.

The Gūjars are still found in numbers in the Panjab, U.P., Rajasthan and Central India, but mostly as cultivators or cowherds. In the north-west of the Panjab, however, they are still "a purely pastoral and almost nōmad race, taking their herds up into the higher ranges in summer and descending with them into the valleys during the cold weather."⁸⁰ The Gūjars are not, however, found in Gujarāt of the Bombay Presidency, though there are unmistakable indications of this tribe having been merged into the Hindu population there. Thus, we have Gūjar and simple Vaṇiās (traders), Gūjar and simple Sonārs (goldsmiths), Gūjar and simple Kumbhārs (potters), and Gūjar and simple Salāts (masons).⁸¹ The first-mentioned of these castes are Gūjars who, taking to different callings, have formed separate castes. The Gujarāt Kaṇbis or husbandmen are divided into the main sections, Lewās and Kaḍwās, and though here the name Gūjar has not survived, there can be little doubt that they belong to the Gūjar stock. For the husbandmen of Khandesh belong to two main divisions, local and Gūjar Kunjbīs. The latter include eight classes, two of which are these Lewās and Kaḍwās. There is also a Brāhmaṇa caste called Gūjar-Gaud, the members of which are found principally in Rajasthan. The conjoint name Gūjar-Gaud means, I think, Gaud Brāhmaṇas of the Gūjar race, i.e.,

80 Ibbetson, *Census of the Panjab*, p. 263

81 *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. I, Pt. I, p. 4.

Brāhmaṇas of Gūjar extraction originally settled in Gauda, which does not here denote Bengal but the province round about Thānēśvar, as first pointed out by A. M. T. Jackson.⁸² Amongst the Rājpūts, the word Gūjar has survived in the name Bad-Gūjar (Bīrgujar) of a clan, which is one of the thirty-six royal families looked upon as pure and genuine in Rajasthan.⁸³ Gūjar is still the name of a Marāthā family, which was once famous in the modern history of Maharashtra. This name is also to be found among the Karhādā Brāhmaṇas. James Campbell has said that "the commonness of the name Gurjara among Karhādes shows that it is something more than a special surname held by the descendants of individuals employed in Gujarāt, and the fact that the surname is common on the coast, especially in the Rājapur Sub-Division and is rare in Dakhan families, and that, where it occurs, it can, in most cases, be traced to a connection with the Konkan, all support the view that the Karhāde Brāhmaṇas of Ratnāgiri are largely of Gūjar origin."⁸⁴ The earliest record in which this surname has been traced is a copper-plate grant in the possession of

82 *Journ. R. As. Soc.*, 1905, pp. 163-64. For long it was a puzzle to me how the Gaud Brāhmaṇas, who abound in the Jaipur State and form one of the sub-divisions of the great Gauda, as distinguished from the Drāviḍa, stock, came to be so called, especially as no legends in any way connected them with Bengal. The puzzle is now solved by Al-Birūnī's "Guda-Tāneshar", to which our attention was drawn by A. M. T. Jackson. But it must be remembered that it was the tribe Gauda that gave this name to the province and not *vice versa*. For we have not only Gaud Brāhmaṇas, but Gaud Rājpūts in Central India. This points to Gauda having originally been a stranger tribe, which was afterwards merged into the Hindu Society. [Cf. Sircar, *op. cit.*, pp. 120 ff.—D. C. S.]

83 Tod, *Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan*, Lahiri & Co. ed., Vol. I. pp. 109-10.

84 *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. IX, Pt I, p. 498.

a Karhādā family in the Konkan and surnamed Gurjara. The name of the grantee is therein thus given—

*Udadhi-taṭa-varti-Kaumkāṇa-deśe Kāṣṭyap-Āvatsāra-
Naidhruv-eti-tri-pravar-opeta-Ñidhruva-gotr-otpanna-
Gurjara-samupābhidhāna-Goviṁda-paṭṭavardhana-
haste, etc.*⁸⁵

The donee here is Govinda, surnamed Gurjara and Paṭṭavardhana. The date of the grant is 1191 A.D., i.e. to say, no less than 700 years have elapsed since the charter was issued. That the Karhādās came from the North may be shown in another way also. Two of their surnames are Ojhe and Rāwat, corresponding to Ojhā and Rāut found in Gujarāt and Rajasthan, but nowhere in Maharashtra.

So far with regard to the names of Brāhmaṇa and Kṣatriya families, in which the word Gūjar is not found, but which nevertheless are of Gūjar origin. Such, e.g., was originally the imperial Pratīhāra dynasty of Kanauj, as shown above. And yet how thoroughly they had become Hinduised ! Not only did they borrow Hindu names, such as Vatsarāja, Nāgabhaṭa, Rāmabhadra and so on ; but they also adopted the various Hindu faiths. Thus, whereas some style themselves *parama-vaiṣṇava*, i.e. devout worshippers of Viṣṇu, others call themselves *parama-māheśvara*, i.e., devout worshippers of Śiva, or *parama-bhagavatī-bhakta*, i.e., ardent devotees of Bhagavatī or Pārvatī.⁸⁶ Nay, what is more, two of these kings, viz., Mahendrapāla and Mahipāla,

85 *Prabhās* for Āśāḍha-Āśvina, Śaka 1829. This copper-plate grant seems to have been known to A. M. T. Jackson (vide *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. IX, Pt. I, p. 498, note 3).

86 For these epithets indicative of their religious predilections, see, e.g., *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. V, p. 211-12. That Bhagavatī in these epithets signifies Pārvatī has already been shown by me in *Prog. Rep. Archael. Survey, West. Circle*, 1907-08, p. 47.

who were the patrons of the poet Rājaśekhara, are in his plays actually called *Raghu-kula-tilaka* (ornament of the race of Raghu), *Raghu-grāmanī* (the leading person of Raghu's family), etc., etc.⁸⁷ So that by the time of Rājaśekhara, the Gujār kings had not only adopted the Brāhmanic mode of worship, but also traced their descent from an epic hero. They, however, traced their origin not to Rāma, as one is apt to presume, but to his younger brother Lakṣmaṇa who, it is said in a Gwalior inscription, was called *Pratīhāra* from his act of repelling (*pratiharana-vidheḥ*) the enemies in his battle with Meghanāda.⁸⁸ Here *Pratīhāra* is derived from *prati* plus *hāra*, to repel, and as this *pratiharā* is spoken of as having been achieved in a battle with Meghanāda, the word *pratīhāra* cannot be taken in the usual sense of "door-keeper". But, at other places, we are told that, because the function of a door-keeper (*Pratīhāra*) to Rāmabhadra was performed by Lakṣmaṇa, the family came to be known as *Pratīhāra*.⁸⁹ This discrepancy is enough to show that the account is fabulous, and the connection with Lakṣmaṇa was concocted when the *Pratīhāras* were settled and perfectly Hinduised in India and were in dire need of carrying back their genealogy to some epic hero, in order to pass off their dynasty as a genuine indigenous one. The true origin appears to be that given in a Jodhpur inscription of the feudatory *Pratīhāra* family. Therein we are informed that there was a Brāhmaṇa named Haricandra and surnamed Rohilladdhi, that he had two wives, one a Brāhmaṇa and the other a Kṣatriya woman, and that the children from both were called *Pratīhāras*, those from the first being styled Brāhmaṇa *Pratīhāras* and those from the

87 V. S. Apte, *Rājaśekhara : his Life and Writings*, p. 9; Konow and Lamman, *Rājaśekhara's Karpūraramaṇjari*, pp. 178-79.

88 *Archaeol. Surv. Ind., An. Rep.*, 1903-04, p. 280, verse 3.

89 *Journ. Roy. As. Soc.*, 1894, pp. 4 ff.

second Kṣatriya Pratihāras. This is not a merely traditional account, for in the same inscription that describes the exploits of the Pratihāra chieftain Bāuka, we are distinctly told in verse 27 that, in his fight with king Mayūra, he was assisted by the Brāhmaṇa Pratihāras as well as the Kṣatriyas. The marriage of a Brāhmaṇa with a Kṣatriya woman, with the result, as related in this inscription, is curious and can only be accounted for as being of foreign importation. The Smṛtis, no doubt, allow a Brāhmaṇa to marry a Kṣatriya woman; but the offspring of such a union is relegated to the class of mixed castes and has nowhere therein been styled Kṣatriya, as appears from the inscription to have been the case with these Pratihāras.

The modern representatives of the Pratihāras are the Paḍihārs who form one of the four *agnikulas*, i.e., fire-sprung tribes. In fact, Pratihāra is only the Sanskritised form of Paḍihār. The Paḍihārs are found in Rajasthan, Panjab and Bihar.⁹⁰ But no trace has yet been found of the Brāhmaṇa Pratihāras referred to in the Jodhpur inscription. It is, however, worthy of note that among the Pokarnā Brāhmaṇas of the present day, there is a *khāṇḍ* or subdivision called Paḍiyāriyā.⁹¹ May not the Pokarnās of this *khāṇḍ* be the descendants of the Pratihāra Brāhmaṇas of the inscription?

The second Rājpūt tribe, which is, in all likelihood, of Gūjar origin, is Cālukya or Caulukya. There is no epigraphic evidence in the present case; but there can be no doubt that Gujarāt of the Bombay Presidency bore this name only after the Caulukyas conquered and occupied it. If the Caulukyas had not been of Gūjar extraction,

90 Tod, *Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan*, Vol. I, pp. 93-94; Risley, *The Tribes and Castes of Bengal*, Vol. II, p. 165.

91 *Census Report of the Jodhpur State* (Hindi), 1891, Vol. III, p. 159.

it is inconceivable how that province could have been named *Gujarāt* (*Gurjaratrā*), when it was up till their advent known as *Lāṭa*⁹²

There were two hordes of this tribe which emigrated at two different periods. The first came forth in the last quarter of the sixth century from the *Savālakh* mountains, as I shall show further on, spread as far south as the Madras Presidency, and was generally known by the name *Cālukya*. The second emigrated about the middle of the tenth century from *Kalyāṇakaṭaka*, i.e., Kanauj, but did not go south beyond *Gujarāt*. It was generally known by the name of *Caulukya* or *Solaṇki*. Some antiquarians are of opinion that they do not represent one tribe, as the first swarm of the invaders was called *Cālukya* and the second *Caulukya*. But this view, I am afraid, has not much ground to stand upon. Because, the first have been called also *Caulukya* in several manuscripts of the *Vikramāṇkadevacarita* by *Bilhaṇa*, the *Vidyāpati* of *Vikramāditya VI* of the *Cālukya* family reigning at *Kalyāṇi*. The same *Bilhaṇa* again speaks of the *Solaṇki* sovereigns of *Gujarāt* as *Cālukya* in his play entitled *Karnasundarī*.⁹³ There, therefore, seems to be no reason to hold that they were two different tribes. Like the *Kadambas*, as we shall see further on, the *Cālukyas* are represented as *Hārītīputras*, as of the *Māṇvya-gotra* and as meditating on *Śadānana* and the seven Divine Mothers. This indicates their *Brāhmaṇa*, and rather priestly, origin, though we cannot perhaps say that they and the *Kadambas* belonged to one tribe. In their later records the *Cālukyas* are

92 *Journ. Bombay As. Soc.*, Vol. XXI, pp. 425-26 [For the *Calukyas* and the *Agnikula* myth, see Sircar, *The Gulilas of Kiskindhā*, pp. 17 ff.; *The Classical Age*, ed Majumdar, pp. 227 ff.—D C S.]

93 *Karnasundarī* (*Kāvyamālā Series*), p. 5, verse 20; also p. 52, verse 15.

spoken of as originally having been at Ayodhyā; but I shall soon show that they really emigrated from the old Sapādalakṣa country, which was in the Himalayas.

The Cālukyas are at present represented by the Solāṅkīs in Rajasthan, by the Cālkes and Sālunkes in the Marāthī-speaking Districts,⁹⁴ and by the Calhuks in Bihar.⁹⁵

Like the Pañihārs, the Solāṅkīs are also regarded as an *agnikula*, i.e., fire-sprung tribe. The remaining two are the Cāhamānas and the Paramāras. This legend about the *agnikula* is first narrated in the *Prthvīrājarāsā*, a work of doubtful authenticity. So far as the inscriptions go, it is only the Paramāras who can claim to be an *agnikula*. Wherever, in their records, an account of their origin is given, there their progenitor is invariably represented as having arisen from the *agnikuṇḍa* or fire-altar of Vasiṣṭha on Mount Abu. But not a single epigraphic record of the Pratihāra, Cālukya or Cāhamāna family has been found, in which their origin from the fire-altar is even so much as hinted at.

I have just shown that the Pratihāras and Caulukyas were of the Gūjar race. We do not know to what stock the Paramāras belonged, though it is certain that they were of foreign extraction. Evidence can, however, I believe, be adduced in support of the foreign origin of the Cāhamānas. "There are found in North-Western India coins of the Sassanian type and fabric bearing inscriptions in Nāgarī, Sassanian Pahlavī, and an alphabet, hitherto unread, which is probably a development of the modified form of the Greek alphabet used by the Scytho-Sassanians. These have been sometimes attributed to the later Hūṇas, but apparently without sufficient reason. They were

94 Birje, *Who are the Marathas?*, pp. 106, 110.

95 Risley, *op. cit.*, p. 175.

almost certainly struck by some Sassanian dynasty or dynasties—as is shown by the style of the coins and by the use of Sassanian Pahlavī—ruling over Sind and Mūltān which the earliest Arab geographers include in the kingdom of Sind. It may be noticed that the region had at other periods been in the hands of the Persian conquerors. For one of these issues, which has the name *Śrī Vāsudeva* only in Nāgarī characters and all the remaining portion of its legends is Sassanian Pahlavī, an approximate date is fixed by its very near resemblance to a coinage issued by Khusrū II Parvīz in the thirtyseventh year of his reign—627 A.D.”

The above passage has been extracted from Rapson’s *Indian Coins*.⁹⁶ The Nāgarī legend referred to by him consists of two parts, one *Śrī-Vahmana* to right and the other *Vāsudeva* to left.⁹⁷ There is another type of this king’s coins, the legends on which are important. On the obverse, the legend is in Sassanian Pahlavī and reads *Saf Varsu Tef-Śrī-Vāsudeva* in the inner circle to right, and, on the margin, *Saf Varsu Tef-Wahman x Multān Malkā*,⁹⁸ meaning ‘Śrī-Vāsudeva-Vahmana, king of Mūltān’. On the reverse, we have *Śrī-Vāsudeva* in Nāgarī characters and the Pahlavī legend, *Tukān Zābulistān Sapardalakshān-Takka, Zabulistān and Sapādalakṣa*.⁹⁹

Now, who was this Vāsudeva Vahmana, reigning from Mūltān over India, Zabulistān and Sapādalakṣa? The word *Vahmana* is commonly taken to be equivalent to *Bahmana*, and Vāsudeva is consequently supposed to have reigned at Bāhmanwāsi=Brāhmaṇābād in Sind.¹⁰⁰ But

96 See pp. 30, § 109

97 *N. Chron.*, 1894, p. 290.

98 *Ibid.*, pp. 292-93.

99 See note 124 below.

100 *N. Chron.*, 1894, p. 268; Rapson, *Indian Coins*, p. 30, § 109.

Vahmana does not here stand as the name of a city or province. We have just seen that, on one type of Vāsudeva's coins, we have simply *Śrī-Vahmana* and *Vāsudeva*. Here *Śrī* is prefixed to *Vahmana*, but never to *Tukān*, *Zāulistān* or *Sapardalakshān*. Again, there is no such word as *malkā* here to denote that Vāsudeva was the ruler of Vahmana. It is therefore natural to conclude that Vahmana must here be the name of the family or tribe to which Vāsudeva belonged. And this name we easily obtain by reading the word as *Cahmana* or *Cāhamāna*, and not *Vahmana*. The letters *v* and *c* in old days were so close to each other that one might easily be mistaken for the other. In fact, the first letter of the name has actually been read *c* by Cunningham, though he is, of course, wrong in reading the next two letters as *ngāra* or *ndāra*.¹⁰¹ There can, therefore, be no doubt as to *Cahmana* being the correct reading. *Cahmana*, it need scarcely be said, stands for *Cāhamāna*; and what the legend on the coin means to say is that Vāsudeva was a *Cāhamāna*. Now, it is worthy of note that the work entitled *Prīthvīrājavijaya* says that the first prince of the *Cāhamāna* family was Vāsudeva who obtained the gift of the salt-lake, which he placed under the protection of the goddesses *Āśapūri* and *Śākambhari*.¹⁰² The same is stated in the colophon of Rājasekhara-sūri's *Prabandhakoṣa* which contains a list of thirtyseven kings belonging, it is said, to the *Sapādalakṣīya-Cāhamāna-nṛpa-varīṣa* i.e., to say "the *Cāhamāna* royal family of the *Sapādalakṣa* country."¹⁰³ This list too begins with "Rājā Vāsudeva", for whom the date *Vikrama* 608 is also specified. It is, therefore, in every way reasonable to hold that Vāsudeva *Cāhamāna* of the coins is identical with Vāsudeva, the

101 *N. Chron.*, 1894, p. 290.

102 *Vienna Or Journ.*, Vol. VII, p. 190.

103 *Hultsch, Reports of Sk. MSS. in South Ind.*, No. III, p. 114.

first king of the Cāhamāna dynasty. But the date Vikrama 608=551 A. D. assigned to him by the *Prabandhakoṣa* is rather early, and the proper date to be assigned to him appears to be 627 A.D., concluded from one type of his coins being an exact copy of that of Khusrū II Parvīz, as mentioned above. Cunningham held that Vāsudeva was a later Hūṇa; but Rapson is of opinion that he was a Sassanian. Probably he was a Khazar, and this would also adequately explain, I think, why some legends on his coins are Sassanian Pahlavī. But, this much is incontrovertible that Vāsudeva was of foreign blood, and consequently the Cāhamāna family to which he pertained was also a foreign tribe.

The next earliest prince of this dynasty was Sāmanta, with regard to whom the Bijoliā inscription says that he was a Brāhmaṇa (*vipra*), belonged to the Vatsa-gotra and came originally from Ahicchatra.¹⁰⁴ This shows that Ahicchatra was the original habitat of the Cāhamānas and that they were Brāhmaṇas.¹⁰⁵ That is to say, they originally belonged to some priestly class of foreign tribes. Like the Guhilots of Mewar, who were originally Nāgar Brāhmaṇas, they exchanged their priestly for martial pursuits, and were afterwards merged into the Kṣatriya caste.

It is on the supposition that they were Brāhmaṇas that the poet Rājaśekhara's marriage with a Cāhamāna lady becomes intelligible. In his *Karpūramāñjari*, we are

104 *Journ Beng. As Soc.*, Vol. LV, Pt. I, p. 41, verse 12; Kaviraj Syamaldas, who edited this inscription, has wrongly read *Vipra-śri-Vatsagotre-—'bhūd*^o. The original stone, which I inspected in 1905, clearly has *Viprah Śri-Vatsa*,^o etc. The estampage, which I had then prepared with my own hand and consulted before writing this note, supports this reading.

105 Cf. also the expression *dīkṣita-Vāsudevaḥ* of the *Hammīra-mahā-kāvya*, I. 27.

informed that his wife was Avantisundari, "the chaplet of the Caūhāṇa (Cāhamāna) family". On the other hand, the facts that his surname was Yāyāvara, and that he styled himself *Upādhyāya* or *Guru* of Mahendrapāla and Mahipāla-Vināyakapāla shows that he was a Brāhmaṇa. He, therefore, could marry Avantisundari, only if the latter were of the Brāhmaṇa family. Later on, however, their Brāhmaṇic origin was forgotten and, instead of as belonging to the Vatsa-gotra, they were regarded as having sprung from the eye of Vatsa Rṣi.¹⁰⁶

Like the Cāhamānas were the Kadambas who were also originally Brāhmaṇas, but became Kṣatriyas afterwards. The very fact that, in their copper-plate inscriptions, they are styled Hārītīputra and Mānavya-sagotra is enough to show that they were of Brāhmaṇa origin. But this matter is now set beyond all doubt by the Talagunda inscription, the earliest record of their family.¹⁰⁷ Therein we are told that "there was a high family of the twice-born (*dvija*) in which Hārītīputras trod the path of the three Vedas, and which had sprung from the *gotra* of Mānavya, the foremost of Rṣis" and that these Brāhmaṇas (*vipra*) were called Kadamba, because they tended a *kadamba* tree near their house. In this family arose Mayūraśarman who, being enraged at the oppressions of a Pallava king on the Brāhmaṇas, fought with them and wrested from them a portion of their territory.

The name Mayūraśarman here is noteworthy, for he is no doubt identical with Mayūravarman, the name of their ancestor specified by the later records of the Kadambas. The Talagunda inscription, however, attaches to his name the honorific suffix *śarman* which is affixed to the names

106 *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IX, p. 74.

107 *Ibid.*, Vol. VIII, pp. 31 ff.

of Brāhmaṇas only. This also shows that Mayūraśarman, the founder of the Kadamba dynasty, was a Brāhmaṇa. But what is very strange is that his very son is in the same inscription called Kaṅgavarman, that is, with the title *varman* assumed by Kṣatriyas. Be that as it may, the Brāhmaṇic origin of the Kadambas remains indisputable.

I have stated above that, like the Kadambas, the Cālukyas also are known as Hāritiputra and Mānavyasa-gotra. They must have been somehow intimately connected with each other. There can be no question that the Cālukyas came from the north. The Kadambas also, therefore, seem to have emigrated from the same quarter. This also explains, I think, how the son of Mayūraśarman became a Kṣatriya. What actually happened in the case of the Pratīhāras must have occurred here also. The custom of the offspring of a Brāhmaṇa and a Kṣatriya woman being called Kṣatriya, which the Pratīhāras followed, though not a Hindu custom, appears to have been followed by the Kadambas also, as will be shown subsequently. This also indicates the northern and foreign origin of the latter.

A stone inscription at Kargudari, in the Hangal Taluka of the Dharwar District, represents this Mayūraśarman, or Mayūravarman (I) as he is therein called, as three-eyed and four-armed, as a son of the god Śiva and the Earth, as having "bound his infuriated elephants to a shining pillar of a rock of crystal of [the mountain] Himavat," and as having brought from Ahicchatra eighteen Brāhmaṇas whom he established in the Kuntala country. Another Talagunda record¹⁰⁸ speaks of Mukanna-Kadamba, "the three-eyed Kadamba", supposed to be identical with Mayūraśarman as having brought twelve thousand Brāhmaṇas of thirtytwo *gotras* purified by performing the

108 *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. X, pp. 251, 253.

109 *Ep. Carnat.*, Vol. VII, Pt. I, p. 121.

Agnihotra sacrifice, from the *agrahāra* of Ahicchatra, and as having established them in the *agrahāra* of Sthāṇugūḍhapura, i.e., Talagunda itself in the Shimoga District, Mysore. The Brāhmaṇas brought here from the north are said to have made an effort later to leave the province. "But they were brought back again, and, in order to prevent a repetition of the attempt, were compelled to have unshorn a lock of hair on the forehead, as a distinguishing mark. From these are descended the present Haiga or Haviga Brāhmaṇas of the north-west of Mysore, who wear their hair in that fashion. Ethnologically, their colour and features support the tradition of a northern origin."¹¹⁰

Another foreign tribe, which came from the north to the south, is Sinda. An interesting record of this family has been found at Bhairanmatti¹¹¹ in the Bāgalkot Taluka, Bijapur District, Bombay Presidency. It says that there was a Sinda prince named Pulikāla, born in the race of the Nāgas, who had the *nāga-dhvaja* or hooded-serpent banner, and the hereditary title *Bhogāvatīpura-parameśvara*, i.e., "supreme lord of the town of Bhogāvati", which was, according to Hindu mythology, the capital of the Nāga king Vāsuki in Pātāla or the lower regions. From a desire to see the earth, there came from these regions the serpent-king Dharanendra, and to him there was born at Ahicchatra in the island of the river Sindhu (the Indus), a son, "the long-armed Sinda", the progenitor of the Sinda family. The Sindas thus were a clan of the Nāga tribe, and came from Ahicchatra.

110 Rice, *Mysore and Coorg*, p. 26. The Haviga Brāhmaṇas of Kārwār still say that they were originally brought by Mayūravarman (*Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. XV, Pt. I, p. 117); cf. also Da Cunha, *Sahyādrikhanda*, p. 334.

111 *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. III, p. 232. [Cf. Sircar, *Soc. Adm. Anc. Med. Ind.*, Vol. I, pp. 137-38.—D. C. S.]

We have seen that Sāmanta, one of the earliest princes of the Cāhamāna dynasty, came from Ahicchatra. Mayūraśarman, the founder of the Kadamba family, we know, proceeded to the Himalayas, and brought with him a colony of Brāhmaṇas from Ahicchatra. The implication is that Ahicchatra was somewhere in the Himalayas. The ancestor of the Sindas also, we now find, came from Ahicchatrapura. Ahicchatra thus appears to be the original habitat, in India, of these foreign tribes, before they migrated southward or eastward. This Ahicchatra is no doubt identical with O-hi-chi-ta-lo of the Chinese traveller Hiuen-tsang.¹¹² Cunningham has identified this place with Rāmnagar, about 22 miles north of Badāun, in U. P.¹¹³ But this identification does not seem to be correct, as Hiuen-tsang distinctly states that the country of Ahicchatra "is naturally strong, being flanked by mountain crags". This description does not at all suit the position of Rāmnagar which is on the Gangetic plains and is not surrounded by hills. On the contrary, it perfectly agrees with what we are told in the Kadamba and Sinda inscriptions, viz., that it was in the Himalayan range. The Jain works¹¹⁴ also mention one Ahicchatra as the capital of Jāngala which, in the *Mahābhārata*,¹¹⁵ is once placed near Mādreya situated between the Chenab and the Sutlej.¹¹⁶ The Jāngala (i.e., jungly) country near Mādreya, can only be in the southern part of the Himalayas, where Ahicchatra must consequently be located. To speak more clearly, there appear to have been at least three Ahicchatras in Northern India. One,

112 Beal, *Buddhist Records of the Western World*, Vol. I, p. 200.

113 *Ancient Geography of India*, Vol. I, pp. 359 ff.

114 Weber, *Die Sk. und Pr. Handschriften der Berliner Bibliothek*, pp. 562, 854.

115 Bhīṣma-parvan, 9. 39; see also verse 56 of the same *parvan*, and Udyoga-parvan, 54. 7.

116 Cunningham, *Ancient Geography of India*, Vol. I, p. 185.

as seems from the *Mahābhārata*,¹¹⁷ was to the north of Pañchāla. And this may now be represented by the ruins near Rāmnagar, as Cunningham says. It may also be the Adisdara (for *Adisadra*) of Ptolemy which was in the Prasiake,¹¹⁸ i.e., the Prācyā, country. The second was Adeisathra¹¹⁹ of the same Greek geographer, which must have been in the Adeisathroi territory, though, curiously enough, he disjoins one from the other. This, I think, is the same as the Adhichhatra of a Pabhosā inscription.¹²⁰ The third, as just shown, was in the Himalayas, is to be identified with Hiuen-tsang's O-hi-chi-ta-lo, and was probably the only Ahicchatra flourishing in the mediaeval times.

Now, the question arises: what was originally the name of this mountainous territory? The southernmost limit of it was formed by what is called the Siwalik (properly Sawālakh) range. At present it is supposed to run parallel to the Himalayas for about 200 miles from the Beas to the Ganges. But, in the olden days, it must have covered a far wider region. Two inscriptions found at Gayā mention one Aśokavalla as the lord of the kings of the Sapādalakṣa mountains and as the overlord of a tributary named Puruṣottamasimha of the Kāma, i.e., Kamāun, country.¹²¹ Another inscription of this king has been found

117 Ādi-parvan, 138. 76-77. On the strength of this *adhyāya*, it is asserted that Ahicchatra was the capital of North Pañcāla. But this is not actually borne out. Ahicchatra is here called the capital, not of North Pañcāla, as it would have been stated if it had really been so, but of Ahicchatra-viṣaya. In fact, North Pañcāla or Pañcāla proper was the country between the Ganges and the Jamunā. This agrees with what Rājaśekhara says in the *Bāla-Rāmāyaṇa*, Act V, verse 86.

118 *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIII, pp. 352-53; vide also the *Kāśikā* on Pāṇini I. 175 where both Ahicchatra and Kānyakubja are included in Prācyā.

119 *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIII, p. 361.

120 *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. II, p. 361.

121 *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. X, pp. 342-46; *Journ. Bomb. As. Soc.*, Vol. XVI, p. 358.

in Gaḍhwāl. A reference to these hills is found also in the Mughal emperor Bābur's autobiography. Munshī Devī Prasād of Jodhpur informs me that, according to Bābur's account, this range commences with the Indus and runs through many parts of Kashmir, such as Pakhli and Sahmanak. The same hills are called Hindukush in Kabul, and, after turning a little southward, run straight off to the east. This range, says Bābur, was called Sawālakh, because it contained no less than 125,000 hills. This whole hilly region must, therefore, widely speaking, be supposed to have been originally known by the name of Sapādalakṣa ; but in particular it included the Districts of Kamāun, Gaḍhwāl, Kāngdā, Hoshiārpur and so forth—in fact, all that part of India between the Chamba State and Nepal. As foreign inroads extended southwards, it embraced also a portion of the sub-montane region along this line. This also explains how, with the migration of the Cāhamānas southward, the boundaries of Sapādalakṣa came to be extended or rather the country over which they ruled came to be called Sapādalakṣa. It has been stated above that Rājāsekharā-sūri, author of the *Prabandhakoṣa*, speaks of them as Sapādalakṣiya-Cāhamāna, i.e., Cāhamāna of the Sapādalakṣa [country]. From inscriptions, and the early Muhammadan writers, it seems that Sapādalakṣa included Hānsi in the Panjab, Ajmer, Maṇḍor, the old capital of Marwar and 6 miles north of Jodhpur, and Maṇḍalgad̄h in Mewar.¹²² All this was exactly the territory held by

122. *N. Chron.*, 1894, p. 271. There can be no doubt that the kingdom of the Cāhamānas was called Sapādalakṣa. At the end of his work, entitled *Dharmāmṛta*, Āśdhara says that he was in the fortress of Maṇḍalākara, situated in the country of Sapādalakṣa, the ornament of which was Śākambharī (R. G. Bhandarkar's *Report* for 1883-84, p. 390). Śākambharī is no doubt Sāmbhar, the capital of the Cāhamāna kingdom. Sapādalakṣa here can, therefore, denote the Cāhamāna territory only. This Sapādalakṣa included, as Āśdhara

the Cāhamānas, and there cannot be even the shadow of a doubt as to this province being called Sapādalakṣa only after their occupation. And what can be more natural than that they should give it the name of their original habitat? How else are we to explain again the fact that the District of Dharwar over which a branch of the Cālukya family ruled was known as Sapādalakṣa, as the author of the *Pampa-Bhārata*¹²³ informs us? Here too only one conclusion is possible. The original habitat of the Cālukyas, like that of the Cāhamanas, was the mountain region called Sapādalakṣa, and they too gave this name to the territory which they conquered in the south, though it was far removed from the Himalayas. Thus the mountainous territory called Sapādalakṣa was the original country where the Cāhamānas and Cālukyas were settled. It is with this Sapādalakṣa that the Sapardalakshān of Vāsudeva's coins, referred to above, must be identified, and not with Rajasthan, as is done by Cunningham, because Northern Rajasthan came to be called Sapādalakṣa about the middle of the eleventh century, and was, in the time of Vāsudeva, known as Gurjara-deśa only.¹²⁴ In this connection, it is

informs us, *Mandalakara-durga*, i.e., *Mandalgaḍh* in Mewar. This was, I think, its south-eastern limit. A Ladnu inscription informs us that it included Nāgapattana, i.e. Nagaur, and I have elsewhere stated that there is still a tract of land in the Nagaur District, known as *Svālakh* or *Savālakh*, which is famous for bullocks. This formed its western boundary. How far its other boundaries extended is not clear. In this connection, it may be stated that the last story of the first *tantra* of the *Pañcatantra* speaks of Sapādalakṣa and also Pallipura (Pāli), but in such a way as to show that Pāli did not fall under Sapādalakṣa, at any rate, at the time when the work was composed.

123 Rice, *Pampa-Bhārata* (Bibliotheca Carnatica), "Analysis of the poem," p 1 My attention to this was drawn by R. Narasimhachar of Bangalore. [See Sircar, *Geog. Anc. Med. Ind.*, p. 204.—D.C.S.]

124 The names of the countries that occur on the coins of Vāsudeva are Tukān, Jāulistān and Sapardalakshān. Cunningham's identification

worth noticing that the so-called White Hun coins in the collection of Rawlins, so ably and lucidly noticed by V. A. Smith, came from the Plateau of Manaswāl situated on the outer range of the Sawālakh hills in the Hoshiarpur District.¹²⁵ In fact, this whole mountainous region had been occupied by the Hūṇas and Gūjars before they spread southward and eastward.

Not only the fighting tribes such as the Cāhamāṇas, Cālukyas and Sindas, but also Brāhmaṇas came from Ahicchatra, the capital of old Sapādalakṣa. We have seen above that Mayūraśarman, the founder of the early Kadamba family, brought twelve-thousand Brāhmaṇas of thirtytwo *gotras* from this place, and some of these, at any rate, are represented by the modern Havigas. The *Keralotpatti* tells us that the Brāhmaṇas in the South were brought by Paraśurāma from Ahicchatram.¹²⁶ In inscriptions as well as in the colophons of old MSS, Brāhmaṇa grantees or authors originally of Ahicchatra are mentioned. Thus the Ujjain plates of 974 A.D. speak of the grantee Vasant-ācārya as having emigrated (*vinirgata*) from Ahicchatra, i.e., belonging to the Ahicchatra Brāhmaṇa community.¹²⁷ Mahīdhara, author of the *Mantramahodadhi*,

of Jālistān with Jābulistān is incontrovertible. But Sapardalaksān is to be identified, as I have just shown, not with Rajasthan, but with the mountainous region comprising Kamāun, Gadhvāl, Kāngdā, Hoshiārpur and so forth. Tukān has been identified by Cunningham with the Panjab (*N. Chron.*, 1894, p. 269), but without sufficient grounds. On some coins instead of Tukān we have Takān. Again, the ending *ān* is here tautologous like that in Sapardalaksān. The true name thus appears to be Tak-Takka, doubtless, the name of the province between the Indus and the Beas known as early as the eighth [7th—DCS] century (Stein, *Rājatarāṅgini*, trans., Vol. I, p. 205, note 150). Tukān, i.e., Takkadesā, thus was contiguous with the old Sapādalakṣa.

125 *Journ. Roy. As. Soc.*, 1907, p. 91.

126 *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. VII, p. 281.

127 *Ibid.*, Vol. VI, pp. 50, 52.

speaks of himself as having emigrated from the territory of Ahicchatra which he calls *dvija-cchatra*, i.e., shelter of the twice-born.¹²⁸

Linguistic considerations also lead us to the same conclusion. There is a group of languages called Pahādī, which, as Grierson tells us, are offshoots of Rājasthānī.¹²⁹ They are spoken in the Himalayas from Chamba in the Panjab to Nepal. Grierson, however, accounts for this close resemblance by saying that bands of Rājpūts at various times invaded these hills, settled there and intermarried with the original inhabitants, on whom they imposed their language. I am not aware of any evidence that can be adduced to show that the Rājpūts, who conquered the hills, were from Rajasthan (Rajputana) as he, I think, clearly implies. On the contrary, what little I know runs counter to this view. For the Rājpūt tribes known in Rajasthan are Cāhamānas, Pādīhārs and so on; but those which exist in the hilly Districts of the Panjab are Katoch, Pathania, Jaswal,¹³⁰ etc., quite unheard of in Rajasthan. On the other hand, the principal Rājpūt tribes of Rajasthan have themselves come, as I have just shown, from this hilly country, which was in olden times known as Sapādalakṣa. The Cāhamānas and the early Cālukyas came from this region and the Bhāṭīs also appear to have come from here, for they have a subdivision amongst them called Sawālakhīā, which is found even among the Bhāṭī Mālis.¹³¹ There may be many other Rājpūt clans, such as the Paramāras and Pādīhārs, who also came from

128 Aufrecht, *Oxford Catalogue*, p. 100.

129 *Imperial Gazetteer*, Vol. I, pp. 364, 368.

130 Ibbetson, *Census of the Panjab*, 1881, pp 248-51.

131 *Census Report of the Jodhpur State (Hindi)*, 1891, Vol. III, p. 89. Sawālakhīā is also a *khānip* among the Baid-Kāyasthas (*ibid.*, p 404).

Sapādalakṣa, although we know nothing about them just now in this respect.

The close resemblance between Rājasthānī and Pahādī has, therefore, to be explained by the fact that the predominant tribes of Rajasthan, who alone could influence Rājasthānī, themselves came from the hilly tracts where Pahādī is spoken. In this connection it deserves to be further noticed that another offshoot of Rājasthānī, as Grierson informs us, is Gūjārī, "the language of the Gūjars wandering with their herds over the mountains of Kashmir and the Swat valley." This doubtless connects the principal Rājpūt tribes of Rajasthan, who have influenced Rājasthānī, with the nomadic Gūjar race, a conclusion by no means startling. These tribes are what are called the *agnikulas*, i.e., Cāhamānas (Cavāns), Paramāras (Pāmārs), Caulukyas (Solañkis) and Pratihāras (Pañihārs). The Solañkis and Pañihārs we know for certain to be of Gūjar origin. And, though no proof can as yet be actually brought forward, there is every likelihood of the Cavāns and Pāmārs also being Gūjars. With regard to the Cāhamānas (Cavāns) in particular, we have seen above strong evidence in support of their foreign origin. I believe that, as legend has brought these four Rājpūt tribes together and classed them under *agnikula*, they all came from Sapādalakṣa and were of Gūjar race.

That the Gūjars were foreigners has now been admitted on all hands. They have been identified by James Campbell¹⁸² with the Khazars who occupied a very prominent position on the borderland of Europe and Asia especially in the sixth century A.D. It is worth noticing here that the Khazar is called Gazar to the north of the sea of Asof, that Ghyssr is the name for the

Khazars who have become Jews, and that *Ghusar* is the form of *Khazar* in use among the Lesghians of the Caucasus.¹³³ All these forms, i.e., *Gazar*, *Ghyssr* and *Ghusar* approach so closely the Indian name *Guza(ja)r*, that it would be well-nigh impossible to dissent from James Cambell's view. Reminiscences of their immigration to India are preserved in the names of the various provinces called after them. Thus, in the first place, we have a tract of land called *Gurjistān*, apparently in the neighbourhood of the White Hun capital *Badeghiz*.¹³⁴ A modern trace seems to remain in *Ujaristān*, the initial *g* being dropped, beyond *Arghandāb*, west of *Hazārā*. A third *Gujaristān* is near *Ghanzī*. There are other provinces named after them, which are too numerous to mention. But the three instances I have here given are sufficient to show that the Gūjars were originally outside India. Now, ethnologists of repute are of opinion that the Khazars, though perhaps not of the same stock as the White Huns, were certainly most intimately connected with them.¹³⁵ This explains why the advent of the Gūjars was almost synchronous with that of the Hūṇas in India. The earliest mention of *Gurjara* occurs in the *Aihole inscription*, *Bāṇa*'s *Harṣacarita* and *Hiuen-tsang*'s itinerary,¹³⁶ which are practically of the same period, i.e., the first half of the seventh century. But then the Gūjars had been so firmly settled in Rajasthan that this last was called *Gurjaradeśa* after them. And it would be interesting to know whether they were known duly by this name even at the time when they entered India. In Chapter XIV of his

133. *Ibid.*, p. 472.

134 *Ibid.*, p. 478.

135 *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, Vol. XIV, article on 'Khazar'.

136 *Journ. Bomb As Soc*, Vol. XXI, p. 425.

Bṛhatśamhitā, Varāhamihira places a tribe called Kacchāra in conjunction with Hūṇa in the northern division of India.¹³⁷ It need scarcely be said that Kacchāra comes so close to Khazar that it seems extremely tempting to hold that one is an Indian form of the other. An Ephthalite coin, found in the old Sapādalakṣa, which has been described by V. A. Smith, has on the obverse [*Khi*] *jara* and on the reverse *Śrī-Prakāśāditya*.¹³⁸ *Khijara* here is doubtless a mistake for *Khajara*, another Indian form of *Khazar*; and the coin shows that Prakāśāditya was a Khazar by race. In Southern India have been found inscriptions of certain chiefs, who are therein described as of the Jimūtavāhana lineage and of the Khacara race.¹³⁹ Thus Kacchāra, Khacara, Khajara and Gurjara are all names denoting one tribe just as we have the names Cāhamāna, Cohān, Cavhān, Cavān and Chāhamā for the family to which the celebrated Pr̥thvirāja belonged. "The Khazars were fair-skinned, black-haired, and of remarkable beauty and stature; their women indeed were sought as wives equally at Byzantium and Baghdad."¹⁴⁰ This satisfactorily answers, I think, those who maintain that there is no admixture of foreign or aboriginal blood in the Brāhmaṇas or Rājpūts simply because they are fair and clear-featured.

We now come to the Maitraka clan. For long, it was thought that the Maitrakas were the enemies of Bhaṭṭārka, the founder of the Valabhi dynasty. But the correct interpretation of the passage wherein they are mentioned

137 *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XXII, pp. 172, 179. The Khacaras also are mentioned by Varāhamihira further on in this list. But here the word has to be translated with Fleet by "the roamers in the sky," as they are placed between the Kśadharas and Śvamukhas.

138 *Journ. Roy. As. Soc.*, 1907, p. 96.

139 *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. I, Pt II, pp. 439, 443, 450, 452, 476, 523.

140 *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, Vol. XIV, p. 59.

requires us to suppose that they were the tribe to which Bhaṭārka belonged.¹⁴¹ I have elsewhere said that Bhaṭārka is to be placed c. 500 A.D., i.e., exactly the time when the might of the Hūnas had overshadowed Northern India. I have little doubt that they entered into India with the Hūnas. I have also said that the Maitrakas were the same as Mihiras, the well-known tribe of Mers, as in Sanskrit both Mitra and Mihira mean the same thing, viz., the sun. This itself is enough to stamp the Valabhī dynasty as originally foreign barbarians. In consonance with this view is the fact that the name Bhaṭārka and perhaps the name of his son Dharasena are hardly indigenous or Hindu, but have all the look of being the Sanskritised forms of foreign names. And it is, no doubt, these princes who brought from the north the word *divira* in *divira-pati*, which occurs in their copper-plate charters, but is a Persian word. With the Maitrakas are closely associated the Nāgar Brāhmaṇas; at any rate, they make their appearance first during the regime of the Valabhī dynasty. Vallabhji Haridatt Achāryā of Rājkoṭ has kindly supplied me with a verse which sets forth what are called the *śarmans* (i.e., name-endings) of the various *gotras* of the Nāgar Brāhmaṇas. It has been found by him in three MSS of the work *Pravarādhya* connected with the Nāgars. One of the MSS is dated Saṁvat 1788, Vaiśākha-sudi 8, Bhṛgu, and all distinctly state that the *gotras*, *pravaras*, etc., therein specified are those which were in existence before Saṁvat 1283. This verse, which is of great importance, runs as follows—

Datta-Guptau Nanda-Ghoṣau Śarma-Dāsau ca Varmā ca /
Nāgadattas = Trāta-Bhūtāu Mitra-Devaū Bhavas = tathā //

141 In my paper on the 'Guhilots' (*Jour. Beng. As. Soc.*, 1909, p. 183), I have given credit to Hułtzc̄h for having first proposed this inter-

Here is a list of thirteen *śarmans* which were in use amongst the Nāgar Brāhmaṇas nearly 700 years ago. Even now they are affixed to their names, when they perform the religious ceremonies. Here, however, we are concerned with three of them, just to show that the list is not a fiction, but has some foundation in fact. These three *śarmans* are Mitra, Trāṭa and Datta.

In the *Pravarādhāya*, Mitra has been assigned to two *gotras*, viz. Śārkarākṣa and Gāṅgīyāya. In my paper on the Guhilots, I have given extracts from three copper charters, all found at Alinā,¹⁴² in which the names of the Brāhmaṇa grantees as well as of their fathers end in *mitra*. Here then we have three instances of the Mitra *śarman*. That they were Nāgar Brāhmaṇas is clearly proved by the fact that they all originally belonged to and came from Ānartapura or Ānandapura, which is identical with Vāḍnagar. And the *gotra* of these donees, as given in the copper-plates, is Śārkarākṣi, the same as Śārkarākṣa, specified in the *Pravarādhāya*. The latter again gives for the Trāṭā *śarman* the *gotras* Bhāradvāja and Atreya. Let us see whether this also is borne out by any inscription. The Vavadiya-jogia plates¹⁴³ of Dhruvasena I, dated Gupta-Valabhi 221, speak of the grantees thus :

*Anandapura-vāstavya-Brāhmaṇa-Skandatrāṭa-Guha-
trāṭābhīyām Chandoga-sabrahmacāribhīyām, etc., etc.*

The name Ānandapura shows that the grantees here also were Nāgar Brāhmaṇas. Their names, it is worthy of note, end in *trāṭā*, and both are of the Bhāradvāja-gotra,

pretation; but I now find that, as a matter of fact, Fleet was the first to suggest it (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. VIII, p. 303), though he afterwards gave it up (*Gupta Inscr.*, p. 167).

142 *Journ. Beng. As. Soc.*, 1909, pp. 181-82.

143 *Vienna Or. Journ.*, Vol. VII, p. 299.

which thus perfectly agrees with the information contained in the *Pravarādhyāya* about this *śarman*.

Another Valabhi grant¹⁴⁴ has the following—

Ānandapura-vinirggata-Vallabhi-vāstavya-traividya-
sāmānya-Gārgya-sagotra-adhvaryu-Brāhmaṇa-Kikkaka-
putra-Brāhmaṇa-Magopadatta, etc., etc.

Here also the donee is a Nāgar Brāhmaṇa, as he is said to have emigrated from Ānandapura. His name is Magopadatta which ends in the *śarman* Datta, and his *gotra* is Gārgya, which agrees with the *Pravarādhyāya*, the last giving no less than nineteen *gotras* for this *śarman*, of which Gārgya is undoubtedly one.

It is thus evident that the Nāgar Brāhmaṇas figure first in the time of the Valabhi princes and that the same *śarmans* that are now, were even then, current amongst them. Now, the question arises : what can these *śarmans* be ? They cannot possibly be in all cases mere name-endings. For the name-endings that we generally meet with are the names of gods such, e.g., in Maṇisāṅkar, or some terms descriptive of being devotees of those gods, such, e.g., in Ambādās. But in the present list, most of them, such as Nanda, Varman and so forth, are certainly neither of them. On the contrary, even a moment's reflection will convince us that no less than ten of these thirteen *śarmans* are found as family names among the Kāyasthas in Bengal, corresponding to Datta, Gupta, Nandī, Ghoṣa, Śarmā, Dās, Barmā, Bhūt, Mitra and Deb.¹⁴⁵ And, of these, the names Gupta, Varman and Mitra are by no means unfamiliar to Indian epigraphy as those of royal families.

144 *Ind.-Ant.*, Vol. XI, p. 309.

145 Risley, *The Tribes and Castes of Bengal*, Vol. II, Appendix, pp. 74-75.

Several coins have been found in Oudh, Rohilkhand and Gorakhpur, the legends on which give the names of kings ending in *mitra*, and these have consequently been rightly assigned to the Mitra dynasty.¹⁴⁶ The Gupta family is too well known to require any mention. All the kings of the Maukhari dynasty have their names ending in *varman*, and have, therefore, been styled also as the Varman dynasty.¹⁴⁷ Again, if these *śarmans* are mere name-endings, it is inconceivable how Varman could have found a place in their list. For *varman* is a suffix attached to the names of Kṣatriyas only, and cannot possibly be affixed to the names of Nāgar Brāhmaṇas, as they are Brāhmaṇas. But the very fact that Varman is included in the list shows that it is not a mere honorific suffix, but a family name, whose existence is attested by the Maukharis, also called Varman, and by the surname Barmā actually current in Bengal among the Kāyasthas.¹⁴⁸ Acharya has told us in one place that, at the time of performing religious ceremonies, it is customary to say Bhagvānlāla-trātā for Bhagvānlāl, Maniśāṅkargupta for Maniśāṅkar and so

146 Rapson, *Indian Coins*, § 44 and 58; Smith, *Catalogue of the Coins in the Indian Museum, Calcutta*, p. 184.

147 C. Mabel Duff, *The Chronology of India*, p. 308.

148 The Kāyasthas of Bengal are, according to traditions, supposed to have come from Kanauj in the time of Ādiśūra (Risley, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 438). And that the Nāgars also come from the north will be shown further on. Nothing, therefore, goes against the view of their racial affinity, if not, identity. It is again worthy of note that the Śrimāli Brāhmaṇas of Marwar also have no less than nine *śarmans* in common with the Nāgars; viz., Nanda, Trātaka, Mitra, Bhūta, Dāsa, Gupta, Ghoṣa, Datta and Deva (*Census Report of the Jodhpur State, 1891*, Vol. III, pp. 141-43). This shows that the Nāgar and Śrimāli Brāhmaṇas and the Bengal Kāyasthas originally belonged to the same race [There is no doubt that these family names are stereotyped name-endings of persons. See Sircar, *Indian Epigraphy*, pp. 423-24. The development of the name of the Gupta dynasty took place before the days of the Maitrakas with whom the Nāgar Brāhmaṇas are associated Cf. also the name of the Pāla dynasty.—D. C. S.]

forth.¹⁴⁹ Here at any rate Trātā and Gupta cannot be taken as mere suffixes. For as suffixes they would be tautologous, as we have them already in *lāl* of Bhagvanlāl and *śāṅkar* of Maṇiśāṅkar.

The conclusion is, therefore, irresistible that at least ten of these *śarmans* represent the names of families or tribes that were incorporated into the Nāgar Brāhmaṇa caste. This seems to point to a racial identity or affinity between the Kāyasthas of Bengal and the Nāgar Brāhmaṇas of Gujarāt.

If this line of reasoning has any weight, Mitra, one of the *śarmans* amongst the Nāgar Brāhmaṇas, really represents one of such tribes or clans amalgamated into that caste. And we have already seen that the Nāgar Brāhmaṇas first came to notice during the rule of the Valabhi kings who were Maitrakas. It is difficult to avoid the conclusion, as I have stated elsewhere, that Maitraka and Mitra denote one and the same tribe, just as we know that the Solāṅkis of Gujarāt have been called by one and the same poet at one time Cālukya and at another time Caulukya.

Besides the Mitras, there were, of course, as I have just stated, other families or tribes that were incorporated into the Nāgar Brāhmaṇa caste. In this connection the following learned words of James Campbell deserve to be noticed:—"The facts that there are Nāgaras among Gujārāt Wāniās, that Nāgaras are 50,000 strong among the Gūrjaras of Bulandshahr (*N. W. P. Gazetteer*, III, 48), and that Nāgaras appear as Nagres among Jāts (*Sialkot Gazetteer*, 45) add to the doubt of the correctness of the Gujārāt Nāgara claim to be Brāhmaṇas."¹⁵⁰ The

149 *Vienna Or. Journ.*, Vol. VII, p. 296.

150 *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. IX, p. 438, note 9. [There are many places called *Nagara*, *Nagari* or *Puri* which are the endings of bigger names like Mālavanagara, Madhyamikānagarī and Purusottamapuri.—D. C. S.]

Nāgars thus appear not to have been indigenous to Gujarāt, but came there from the north. When they did come to Gujarāt, they doubtless established themselves at Ānandapura or Vaḍnagar. It is in the Vaḍnagar *prastasi* of Kumārapāla (1143-1174 A.D.) that the place is for the first time called Nagar, and also the caste name Nāgara of these Brāhmaṇas mentioned. When Visnagar was founded and some of them settled there, the old place came to be called not simply Nagar, but Badā-Nagar, the old Nagar, which was Sanskritised into Vṛddhanagara as well as Vaṭanagara. I believe all their present sub-divisions, except one, are the offshoots of the first swarm of the Nāgar Brāhmaṇas who were settled at Ānandapura. The exception is that of the Praṣṇorās who, it is worthy of note, call themselves Ahicchātrā or Ahicchatrajñātiya.¹⁵¹ This points to the conclusion that not only the Nāgars in Gujarāt, but even the Gūjar Nāgars of Bulandshahr and the Jāṭ Nagres were so named after some place called Nagar, which was not far from Ahicchatra. For, if this Nagar had not been in the close neighbourhood of Ahicchatra, the Nāgars and Praṣṇorās would not have belonged to the same stock; and consequently the latter, when they emigrated from Ahicchatra and came to Gujarāt, would not have been admitted into the Nāgar caste. Now, there is such a place in the Sawālakh hills, called Nagar or Nagar-kot,¹⁵² which was the old name of Kāngdā, the principal town of the District of the same name, Panjab.

151 *Ibid.*, Pt. I, p. 15, notes 1-2.

152 The antiquities of Nagar-kot have been described by Cunningham in *Arch. Surv. Ind.*, Vol. V, pp. 155 ff. Nagar-kot is referred to and described by Hiuen-tsang (Watters, *Yuan Chwang*, Vol. I, pp. 187 ff.). Another name by which it was famous was Suśarmanagara (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. I, p. 100; Vol. II, p. 483). Nagar, as the name of a town, was known to the author of the *Kāśikā* (see his gloss on Pāṇini, IV. 2. 95).

THE SOCIAL AND MILITARY POSITION OF THE RULING CASTE IN ANCIENT INDIA AS REPRESENTED BY THE SANSKRIT EPIC

EDWARD W. HOPKINS

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PREFACE

This essay, in its original form, was read before the Oriental Society in May, 1886. Further contributions to the subject, made as reported in the subsequent Proceedings of the Society, have now been incorporated into the work, and the point of view of the whole somewhat extended.

My first intention was to record the data furnished by the *Mahābhārata* in regard to the Warrior-caste. I have since been led to add matter illustrative of my topic from works more or less parallel to the Epic, and this paper now offers *di ektypōn* an inquiry into the conditions of civilization in the Middle Ages of India from the point of view of the ruling power. Into wider questions of pan-Aryan interest, I have, through lack of space, refrained from entering: for example, into that of land-ownership and village communities, where a new and thorough investigation of India's position is needed.

I believe no especially Epic study of Hindu civilization has yet been attempted. My authorities are, therefore, chiefly the native texts.¹

1. A study of the Vedic period is presented by Zimmer's *Altindisches Leben* Weber's *Collectanea (Indische Studien)*, Vol. X), Lassen's *Indische Alterthumskunde*, and Muller's *India* touch on some of the points here discussed. Of Wilson's *Art of War* and Rājendralāla Mitra's *Indo-Aryans*, I shall speak more particularly below. On Epic antiquities,

The following abbreviations require explanation. Unprefixed numerical references imply that the quotation is from the *Mahābhārata*, Bombay edition.²

R. = *Rāmāyaṇa*, ed. Gorresio; *M.* = Manu's law-book (*Mānavadharmaśāstra*); *G.* = Gautama's law-book (*Dharmaśāstra*), ed. Stenzler; *Vas.* = Vasiṣṭha's law-book (*id.*), ed. Führer; *Āp.* = Āpastamba's law-book (*Dharmasūtra*), ed. Bühler; *B.* = translation of *Baudhāyana* by Bühler. *V.P.* and *Ag. P.* denote respectively the *Viṣṇu* and *Agni Purāṇas*. The names of other *Purāṇas* and the authors of the House-laws (*Gṛhyasūtra*) are, when quoted, given in full.

Muir has some scattered remarks and a few special studies in his *Sanskrit Texts*. To these general acknowledgement is due. The term Epic I limit, for convenience, to the *Mahābhārata*, although conversely, this Epic is regarded by native authorities as an 'art-poem', as was long ago pointed out by Müller (*tvayā ca kāvyam=ity=uktān tasmāt kāvyan bhavīṣyati*, *Mbh.*, I. 1. 72; Müller, *Ancient Sanskrit Literature*, p. 41). The part of this Epic embraced by the Twelfth and Thirteenth Books I call pseudo-Epic. In regard of the origin of the *Mahābhārata*, I have briefly discussed Holtzmann's general argument (*Epos*) in my Introduction, but ignored his speculations on Epic Buddhism, in respect of which I can say only that they fail to convince me of his *demonstrandum*. On the important subject of the critique of our received text of the poem, I have not touched in this essay. [See now a paper thereon by the writer reported in the *Proceedings* for October, 1888.]

2 A Pathfinder or concordance of references for the Bombay and Calcutta editions equated by verse-decades has been prepared by the writer, and will soon be published.

INTRODUCTION

ORIGIN AND HISTORICAL VALUE OF THE EPIC

I

In order to a better understanding of the material from which are drawn the chief quotations preferred in this essay, a word will be necessary in regard to the present and past condition of the Hindu Epic. The poem is of obscure origin. History fails us, and who can trust Hindu tradition? More than this: the work when analyzed appears to be inwardly inconsistent. In the same heroes we discover different characters. Opposite tendencies seem at work. The highest god is at the same time a tricky mortal. The chief knights are depicted now as good and now as sinful men. The original theme is, as it were, diverted from its course.³

3 An abstract will indicate this. Of two possible heirs to the throne of Hastinapura, Pāṇḍu, the younger, having succeeded to the sovereignty on account of the blindness of his elder brother, Dhṛtarāṣṭra, finally grew weary of ruling, and, retiring into the woods where he died, left his kingdom to the blind Dhṛtarāṣṭra. The latter, regarding Yudhisthira, Pāṇḍu's eldest son, as rightful heir, caused him at first to be proclaimed crown prince, but subsequently, persuaded by Duryodhana and others of his sons, reconsidered the matter, yielded to sin, permitted Yudhisthira with his four brothers (called the Pāṇḍus, as opposed to the Kurus, Duryodhana and his brothers) to be enticed out of the city, and then settled the whole kingdom on his own son. But the Pāṇḍus, at first expelled and in mortal danger, after proceeding to Pañcāla and forming an alliance with that king by a polyandrous marriage with his daughter, returned to Hastinapura, backed by Pañcāla's influence, made terms with their relatives, and took half the realm. In a corner of this, they founded and occupied a new town, Indraprastha; and here, after years of conquests, they held a celebration that awakened the envy of Duryodhana who soon challenged Yudhiṣṭhira to a deceitful game of dice. In its course, the latter played away his newly acquired greatness and then gambled again with the understanding that the loser should this time become a hermit. He lost, went into

From outside sources, we know only that the poem is mentioned in the Sūtra of Āśvalāyana, and seems to be intended in a description of a Hindu epic, given by Dio Chrysostomos, in a fragment that may have come from Megasthenes. In the event of the description being original with the first, 100 A.D. may be set as the date of this information; with the second, 400 B.C.⁴ What other accounts we have are not less doubtful in date. Thus, the poem is known to the *Mahābhāṣya*; but the earliest date of this work is 140 B.C.⁵ while Pāṇini's evidence is negative, mentioning characters but not the poem by name. Of the war, only the Epic gives an account, and the date of the conflict is matter of inference. Thus, Schroeder reckons that it antedates the *Yajurveda*, because the Kuru-Pañcāla alliance therein recorded must have been the result of the war; but this is absolutely uncertain. Analysis led Lassen to suppose that the original poem was an account of a war between the Kurus and Pañcālas, not between the Kurus and Pāṇḍus. There is no very weighty reason for the view thus expressed. The poem itself asserts that its theme is the

the woods with his brothers, and remained there, in accordance with his promise, for twelve years. At the close of one further year, he found an ally, invoked anew the aid of Pañcāla, elected Krṣṇa (Viṣṇu) as his aid, marched against Hāstīnapura with a large force and routed the yet larger army of Duryodhana by means of desperate and unscrupulous fighting on the part of the Pāṇḍu knights and the unfairly used influence of Krṣṇa (whose help the Kurus had scorned). He found no one to oppose him within the town, and had himself crowned king of both Hāstīnapura and Indraprastha; and finally, after a long reign, laid down the crown in order to climb up to heaven in company with his four brothers and the family wife, the successful accomplishment of this journey terminating the story.

4 The different views on this subject have lately been set forth by L. von Schroeder in his *Indiens Literatur und Kultur*. p. 464. Weber thinks the mention in Āśvalāyana an interpolation. Cf. Lassen, *Ind. Alt.*, Vol. I, pp. 589-92.

5 Weber, *Lit.*, pp. 201, 241.

Kuru-Pāndu war. Objections offered to believing this are based on the fact that the Kurus are an old family, known in more ancient literature, while the Pāndus are not. The working-over of the poem is also thought to be attested by the fact that its introductory part states it to have had different beginnings and lengths—8800 couplets, 24,000, and 100,000 ; but as, aside from other proofs of recent time, it is evident that the last length could not have been noted till the work had been completed, this whole statement can only be regarded as one of comparatively late origin, belonging to the final development of the Epic—a time when the writers knew little in regard to the working-over of their inherited verses. At present the text is overburdened with extraneous matter, tales, laws, moral codes, theologies, metaphysics, quite stifling the original body of living poetry.

From another point of view, efforts have been made to prove not only a change, but a complete inversion (in our present story) of the original theme. This criticism bases itself on the want of unity in the characters. Starting with the two-fold nature of Kṛṣṇa-Viṣṇu as man and god,⁶ and with the glossed-over sins of the Pāndus, the critic argues that the first poem was written for the glory of the Kurus, and subsequently tampered with to magnify the Pāndus ; and that in this latter form we have our present Epic, dating from before the fourth century B.C. ; since the worship of Viṣṇu was in Megasthenes' time triumphant over that of Brahman, and it is with the cult of the former god that the Pāndus are bound up. The first poem would thus be completely changed, or, as Schroeder in describing the theory says,⁷ 'set upon its head'. Schroeder's exposition of the theory, being the latest outcome of this criticism (we are indebted to Adolph Holtzmann for its tone), will

6 On Kṛṣṇa as shepherd, see Lassen, *Ind. Alt.*, Vol. I, p. 770.

7 *Lit. u. Kult.*, p. 479.

serve as at once the clearest and most recent explanation of how the Epic may thus have been inverted. "The original poet (he says in substance) lived at a time when Brahman was the highest god (700 to 500 or 400 B.C.); and this singer was a child of the Kuru-land. He heard reports of the celebrated Kuru race that once reigned in his land, but had been destroyed by the dishonorable fighting of a strange race of invaders. This tragical overthrow he depicted in such a way as to make his native heroes models of knightly virtue, while he painted the victors (Pāṇḍus, Pañcālas, Matsyas), with Kṛṣṇa, hero of the Yādavas, at their head, as ignoble and shamefully victorious. This is the old *Bhārata* song mentioned in Āśvalāyana. After a time, Kṛṣṇa became a god, and his priests, supported by the Pāṇḍus, sought to make Kṛṣṇa (Viṣṇu) worthy to be set against the Buddha. Their exertions were successful. Viṣṇu in the fourth century became the great god, and his grateful priests rewarded their helpers, the Pāṇḍus, by taking the *Bhārata* poem in hand and making a complete change in the story, so as to relieve them of the reproaches of the old poet. Finally they worked it into such shape that it praised the Pāṇḍus and blamed their opponents. About this time, they inserted all the episodes that glorify Viṣṇu as the highest god. The Pāṇḍus then pretended that they had originally belonged to the Kuru stock, and the cousinship portrayed in the poem was invented, whereas they were really an alien, probably a southern, race."⁸

How differently the same set of facts may be converted into theories is seen by comparing the view of Ludwig.⁹

8 Scarcely reconcilable with the theory that the nucleus of the Epic is the war between the Kurus and Pañcālas (see Schroeder, *loc. cit.*, pp. 457 and 479).

9 To which Schroeder does not allude. It is found in the *Abhandl. d. Königl. böhm. Gesell. d. Wiss.*, VI Folge, 12 Band.

This scholar holds that the original story was an account of a war between the Bharatas and Kurus, while the Pāṇḍus are a sun-and-earth myth. Kṛṣṇā, the dark [earth], is an attractive solution of the polyandrous marriage. The Pāṇḍus are the seasons, each in turn possessing the earth. But the same name in Kṛṣṇa as the sun is somewhat objectionable. Ludwig's paper is ingenious, but to me unconvincing.

The only basis that we have for inverting the theme of the present poem is in what Schroeder, who warmly supports the inversion-theory, calls¹⁰ 'the justification of the hateful rôle evidently played by the Pāṇḍus in the old form of the Epic, and the reproaches heaped upon the Kurus, the royal heroes of the old poem'. Theories once started increase, as it were of their own accord, in force of statement. With each new advocate a surer colour is given, whence the hypothesis gathers new strength, while the facts remain as at first. The quotation above given contains the last embodiment of a theory (now nearly forty years old) necessitating an entire inversion of the Epic story. What reason have we for believing in this 'justification of the hateful rôle evidently played by the Pāṇḍus'? Do the Pāṇḍus [relatively] play such a rôle? Does the 'justification' of the acts of the Pāṇḍus require us to believe that they were first depicted as the ancestral foes of the original writer or writers? On the assumption that these points cannot be denied hangs the whole inversion-theory. From the religious point of view, we have no unanimity of criticism; Schroeder considers Kṛṣṇa as unitary, deified by the Pāṇḍus, insulted by the Kurus; Holtzmann, with less probability, assumes two distinct Kṛṣṇas. The change in the human characters is the mainstay of the modern interpretation.

10 *Lit. u. Kult.*, p. 479; Holtzmann (Sr.), *Sagen*; (Jr.), *Epos*.

To my mind, the assumptions, on which this theory is based, are more negatively wrong than positively untrue. It is true that reproaches are heaped upon the Kurus. But reproaches are also heaped upon the Pāndus. It is true that the Pāndus appear to have played a hateful rôle; but so do the Kurus. It is true that the Pāndus are justified; but is there no other reason for this than that assumed by the theory?

Unless we are willing to reject upon a theory and then theorize upon the rejection, we must admit that the same book and page that contain the reproaches heaped upon the Kurus contain similar reproaches against the Pāndus. Now, passing for a moment the question of the relative sinfulness in the rôles of each party as given by the earliest poem, let us ask: why should it naturally follow that the Pāndus alone were justified by the poet? We find many cases where the Pāndus do wrong, are reproached, and are then excused. The inversion-theory says that they sinned in the old poem, and that the poem was rewritten to make them appear good. Suppose we imagine the possibility of the poem being simply what it pretends to be—an account of the Pāndus' conquest of the Kurus. Imagine this poem added to from time to time, as we know it must have been, by the hands of priests bound to glorify, for religious or other reasons, the conquerors in the war. Is it not likely that they would have excused wrongs committed by their own party, which a more native moral sense had long before depicted without shame? It is likely, on the other hand, that in excusing their own side they would have taken the trouble to excuse the other, or to exalt their opponents' virtue? It seems to me that up to this point (given an old poem containing records of barbarous deeds done by both parties), it is not necessary to assume an inversion of theme

merely because the conquering side is exalted and excused by the conqueror's bards. The inversion-theory, however, assumes that such one-sided extolment obliges us to believe in an original poet who painted the victors black, and in a new poet who re-painted them white. It is perhaps scarcely well to criticize Schroeder's poetical fancy of the sorrowing child of the Kuru-land ; but it is a fair question to ask, considering the conditions under which Epic poetry was produced in India : what object would a poet have in writing a poem for public recitation or private circulation with the intent of vilifying those that now ruled his land ?

But we have, admitting for the moment that our Pāṇḍus as victors might naturally be glorified by Pāṇḍu priests, a further question to ask : why in the process of glorifying the Pāṇḍus was it necessary for later bards to justify their works as represented in the earlier poem ?

To answer this question (if we may assert for the time being that the inversion-theory is not yet established), let us consider what the great developing factors of our Epic were. What induced the insertion of this huge bulk of plainly late matter ? In part, these additions consist of religious novelties ; in part, they are of moral-didactic origin. Has not this last influence been under-estimated in treating of the 'working-over' of the poem ? Let us reflect upon the fact, evident to anyone that has traced the lines of growth in Hindu civilization, that, as religion descended, morality ascended ; that the later religious feeling was less pure than the earlier, but the later morality was higher and stricter than that of a former age ; or that, at least, the didactic morality as last inculcated was superior to that recognized at first. Consider how penetrated the Epic is by this later morality ; how ethical need imposes long sermons on us (not religious) at every turn ; how it has added chapter after chapter at variance with earlier feeling and custom : how it everywhere teaches abhorrence

of wrong acts, from a point of view often of sternest right ; how it condemns the barbarities of an early uncivilized community ; how it imposes its new law on the daily acts of life ; how it has composed a formal 'code of fighting' that inculcates law more humane than was possibly consistent with the practices of the older times commemorated by the first form of the poem—and then let us ask this question : is it not reasonable to suppose that those same priests who framed the fighting code and endeavoured to implant in their brutal warrior-kings a moral, not to say a chivalrous sentiment, might have been swayed by two opposing desires in handing down their national Epic ? We know what happened to the text of Homer when his morality offended that of certain Alexandrians. Is it too much to suppose that the Hindu moral teachers (for they were truly that, while being as a body unscrupulous of rewards) felt this same necessity of expunging or excusing the sins of those heroes who had gradually become national models of royal and knightly honor ? I conceive it possible that those priests, after spending much labour to expound what a king ought to be, should have made every effort to cause those heroes who had now become, from success and glory of war, popular types of perfect knights to appear in a light consonant with the moral principles that priestly ethics would inculcate. But how was this possible ? The poem was there ; it was the popular story ; it teemed with records of acts harmonious with the older morality, inconsistent with that of the developed moral sense. So—might they not ?—they modified what they could not erase ; they excused what they could not pardon ; they called in as a last resort the direct command of their deity to justify what to mortal apprehension was unjustifiable ; for, if Viṣṇu commanded a hero to this, who could question the right or the wrong ? The early tale artlessly related

how Arjuna, the defender of the faith, shoots Kārṇa when the latter is helpless. Did the old morality revolt at this? I think not. But the new morality comes, that says, "No noble (Aryan) knight will fight except on equal terms." What then are the priests to do? They turn to God. It was Viṣṇu who shouted to Arjuna, "Strike him now", and the great hero, questioning not the word of God, though with great reluctance, shoots his helpless foe. Here, says the priest, is the truth of this story. Certainly Arjuna killed Kārṇa thus; but you may not cite it for a precedent against our 'code of war' since God inspired the act from occult reasons, and that takes the deed out of our sphere of judgement.

Another method of eliminating the evil consequences of a bad moral precedent is shown in the priest's choosing the lesser of two evils. His two inclinations were to glorify the Pāṇḍus, and to uphold a sound morality. In some cases he sacrifices the first to the second. Thus, he permits the justified reproaches of the Kurus to remain against his own heroes. The reproaches are based on a common-sense fairness, but always from the subjective point of view of the person interested and badly treated. Thus, the Kurus reproach the Pāṇḍu bitterly for interfering between two men who are fighting, and for killing his friend's foe who is getting the better of his friend. Arjuna laughs at this *ex parte* view of the case: "Why," says he, "what nonsense for you to blame me! I saw my friend worsted and struck the man who was worsting him. How are we to have a conflict if every man is to go off and fight by himself? That is no way to fight." Now, as it seems to me, the Kurus' position expresses an opinion not necessarily founded on any abstraction of right and wrong, though it may indicate an advance on Pāṇḍu morality. But the perplexed priest, unable to omit this striking and vivid scene, finds that the reproaches of the Kurus coincide

with his own abstract principles, and he lets them stand, strengthening them with a quotation from his own code for the sake of moral fighting, even if it offends against his hero. For Arjuna has, from the later point of view, absolutely no valid excuse.

We must remember, again, that if there is any truth at all in the legend of this war and the history of the combatants, then the long-established and noble house of the Kurus represented, in a modified form, a higher degree of civilization than these *nouveaux riches*, these vulgar and modern Pāṇḍus, who not till much later became an established house and men of mark in the civilized community into which they had intruded. Thus it may well have been that the Kurus had really a more developed conscience in the ceremony of right than had the Pāṇḍus, albeit that of both stood far below the plane represented by the priestly poets of subsequent days. The social development of the Kurus was higher, as they had a longer civilization to fall back upon ; and we shall perhaps be able to admit that the Kurus' wrath in the above scene was not wholly *ex parte*, but embodied one of their earlier rules than led afterward to the full code of the completed ethics. Yet we cannot assert for them or their acts any great moral superiority over the Pāṇḍus. Their peculiar sins, however, do seem to smack of a more cultivated wickedness. The Pāṇḍus sin in a very ungentlemanly way. The Kurus sin likewise, but after the manner of adroit and polite rascals. They do not break their smaller laws of propriety. They do not play tricks openly and then exult in them. But they secretly seek to burn the Pāṇḍus alive ; they skillfully deceive the Pāṇḍu king at dice and pretend it was fair play ; they form a conspiracy and send ten men at once to kill Arjuna ; they slay Arjuna's son in order first to weaken the father's heart (later imitated by the Pāṇḍus) ; they are, in a word, cunning and sly, while the Pāṇḍus

are brutal and fierce. But, in most cases, the crimes of each must have appeared, in their nakedness, equally shocking to the codified morality of a later era.

So it seems to me that the ethical sense of a subsequent age might have worked upon the legends it received. Not the inversion of the story and of the characters was, perhaps, the aim of the later poets. They only, as I think, blurred the picture where it was too suggestive of evil in should-be types of holiness. But if we accept the inversion-theory, we shall believe that the Pāṇḍus and their partisans, the priests of Viṣṇu, took a poem that was written to defame the Pāṇḍus and Viṣṇu, and wrote it over again so as to represent these as perfect. Such is the opinion of scholars justly eminent in criticism of the Epic and in Sanskrit scholarship. As to what basis this theory rests upon, enough has been said. We owe all our constructive criticism as well as destructive in this line to Holtzmann ; and it is necessary to say that, in suggesting other possibilities than those advocated by him, one only re-builds the material that he has furnished. But supposing it were possible that our present Epic is the legitimate continuation of an original theme, and not a total inversion of it, let us look at the conditions under which it might have arisen. It would not be necessary to reject the supposition of a Pāṇḍu-Pañcāla alliance against the Kurus ; but there would be no reason for supposing the war essentially Pañcālas', with the Pāṇḍus added as adventitious adherents of that older royal family. The attempt to reconcile king Dhṛtarāṣṭra of the *Yajurveda* literature with the date of the late upstart Kurus may be abandoned, as common sense demands : and more than common sense. To that Brāhmaṇic period king Dhṛtarāṣṭra is real ; the Pāṇḍus as a people are unknown. But to the Epic period the Pāṇḍus are real, and the hypothecated king of the Kurus is a mere shadow. The real king of the Kurus (he receives the title of *rājan* in the poem as it stands to-day)

is Duryodhana. 'It is in the secondary fable that Dhṛtarāṣṭra is prominent. In the real action of the piece, the latter is as good as silent, but becomes, first and last, conspicuous as a lay-figure on which to exhibit teachings of various sorts. To the writers of the Epic, the Pāṇḍus seem to have been genuine founders of a dynasty. What had they accomplished? They, a new race, not known by ancestors noble enough to be reflected in older literature, became formidable through allying themselves with the Pañcālas. They attacked and overthrew the venerable Kuru empire, and seated themselves upon the throne of these vanquished Kurus. And which Kurus? Those of the Vedic age? Is it likely that such an event could have taken place unnoticed in the light of the Dhṛtarāṣṭra of the *Yajus*? We must remember that Janamejaya is also of Brāhmaṇic antiquity, but that the Pāṇḍus are unknown. The solution of the difficulty seems to me to lie in a very likely assumption.

It is this: that the Pāṇḍus fought and conquered the Kurus, not the old Kurus in their height of renown, but the weak descendants of that race, who came long after the Dhṛtarāṣṭra of the Brāhmaṇic period. And now what may we imagine to have followed? The priests of the Pāṇḍus—who, as I think, wrote the poem originally on essentially the same lines as portrayed today, barring the inferior moral tone of the first version—in order to exalt the glory of the new house, made out the combat of their national heroes to have been not with the weaker man who really fell, but with the race in its early pride, supported and headed by the glory of the Dhṛtarāṣṭra of old, whose name perhaps, without his power, was really borne by this, his inferior descendant. It is not at all necessary to insist poetically on the double name. Hindu historical feeling is quite capable of simply introducing the ancient king into the new era—or, we may perhaps better say, of running the modern contest with all its appurtenances back into a

remoter Vedic age. In this same spirit, they also pretended that the ancient Janamejaya was the son of the modern hero : that is to say, they put back the hero into an antiquity obscure enough to father him upon Janamejaya. The older, the more venerable ; the more venerable, the more glorious the contest. So, too, the eldest of the Pāṇḍus, Yudhiṣṭhira, once called Dharma, draws about him the mantle of wisdom associated with that name from the early period ; and while in the first stratum of the poem he is nothing but a headstrong, wilful and cruel head of a family-clan, in the pseudo-Epic he is the incarnation of law and morality.

As to the three periods of development in the poem, although I see no reason for believing any arithmetical statement made by a Hindu in regard to verses contained in an unguarded poem, we may accept the conclusion that there has been in general a gradual enlargement, since we can plainly trace the rough outlines of growth.¹¹

We may even go farther, and admit a general three-fold evolution (not inversion), judging by the appearance of the poem as it stands to day. For, examining the work, we find that upon the original story, the *Bhārata*, have been grafted many 'secondary tales' (*upākhyāna*) ; and upon these, and apart from these, have been inserted whole poems of romantic, ethical and theological character, having nothing to do with the course of the Epic itself.

11 In I. 1. 75 ff., the *Ślokas* are 8800 ; in the first version, the Thirteenth and the last two Books of our present edition are not mentioned. In *ibid.*, 101 (b) ff., we read : *idam śata-sahasraṁ tu lokānāṁ* (*ślokānām*) *punyakarmanāṁ* | *upākhyānaiḥ saha jñeyam=ādyam* *Bhāratam=uttamam* || *caturviṁśati-sāhasrīm*, *cakre Bhārata-samhitām* | *upākhyānaiḥ=vinā tāvad=Bhārataṁ* *procye budhaiḥ* (the first verse is omitted in the Calcutta edition); and, in 107, we learn that the present length of the Epic, as established among men, is 100,000 verses, as opposed to the *Bhārata* of 24,000 verses, mythical ones, and the compilation in its shortest form of 150 verses just mentioned.

We must, however, remember that our Epic has been enlarged in two ways: first, by a natural expansion of matter already extant; secondly, by unnatural addition of new material. The Twelfth Book may serve as a type of the latter: the Eighth, of the former. These dynamically added parts (the Twelfth Book, etc.) bear about the same relation to the original that cars do to a locomotive. We may say, if we will, that the original has 'grown'; but in reality it only drags a load.¹²

Although not anxious at present to set up a scheme of distention and addition as the plan of growth of the Epic, I may indicate here what seems to me to have been the probable course of events.

If we begin discarding what appears of most recent origin, we shall certainly strike out first what I have called the pseudo-Epic, and with it the Books that follow; for, though pretending to carry on the tale, the Fourteenth Book, depending on the Thirteenth and existing for the sake of the *Anugītā*, must fall into the same category with its immediate predecessors; and the Fifteenth, with its system of *nīti* leading into the later tales of the heroes after the war is over, takes us to that stage where the *Harivamśa* is but a natural sequence of the un-Epic nonsense preceding. The last two Books we further see omitted in one of the Epic's own catalogues; and, upon the grounds of the complete catalogue in the First Book and the opening chapters bearing on their face every mark of posteriority to the account of the main story, we shall be inclined to put the greater part of the First book into the same list as that of the Last. This would leave us at the second stage; and beyond this we cannot reject by Books, but by sections; for Viṣṇuism

12 The significance of a certain appearance of greater antiquity in the pseudo-Epic will be discussed below.

stands side by side with Sivaism and the older Brahmaism, and the chapters of didactic dreariness are interwoven with the thread of the story. These preaching chapters, with the theological chapters, seem to me to belong to the same period of addition as the mass of unnecessary stories here and there interpolated, although some of the latter bear the stamp of being older each as a whole than the time when they were inserted into the Epic.

The *Bhārata* tale alone would remain after this second lightening of foreign elements, but by no means the original tale ; for we must bear in mind that the second principle of increase, the natural evolution of old scenes, was at work contemporaneously with the dynamic principle of insertion. Thus, after discarding the foreign elements in any one of the battle-books, we have in our strictly *Bhārata* residuum not simply the *Bhārata* tale of old, but that tale expanded by repetition, coloured by new descriptions, etc., all at one with the story, but increasing its extent. A certain amount of elimination can doubtless be done here by striking out repeated scenes ; but it will be at best an unconvincing critique. In some cases, as in the Fourth Book, we have a perhaps original episode of the Pāndus seeking alliance at Upaplavya, first expanded and then added to by absurd and unnatural scenes betraying of themselves their lateness ; yet we should do wrong to reject the Book altogether on this account. Comparing again with the *Rāmāyana*, we see that the most conspicuous difference between the poems is this : that while the Epic is not wanting in scenes romantic enough to lie parallel to the general tone of the *Rāmāyana*, the latter is totally wanting in those scenes and touches, familiar to the Epic, that reveal a period older than either poem taken as a whole. But, again, the general character and style of our Epic approach nearest to that of the other poem in the

battle scenes ; so that, were the characters exchanged, we could scarcely say from the general description whether we were reading of the war of Arjuna or of that of Rāma. The *Mahābhārata*, then, in such portions clearly stands on a par with the *Rāmāyaṇa* : although on the one side, there are Epic points untouched in antiquity by Vālmīki's poem, and, on the other, there are smaller points of dress and implements in the latter that seem to indicate posteriority to the Epic.

To sum up the view that seems to me most free from objections and least radically destructive of such tradition as does not on its face demand total unacceptance—I am inclined to think that our Epic originally described what it, in general, now pretends to describe—a war between the Kurus and the Pāṇḍus united with the Pañcālas. This war occurred later than the Brāhmanic literary period, but before the general acceptance of Viṣṇuism. Songs and ballads kept alive and popularized the history of the triumph of the Pāṇḍus over the Kurus, who were naturally described as sinful. When the conquerors had died and the war already fading into history, the priests composed a metrical account of the events, incorporating the old current songs and ballads. With the steady rise of Viṣṇuism, and later of Śivaism, these theologies implanted themselves at the hands of the priests in the poem, crowding out for the most part the song-kept Brahmaism of the older period. With the development of morality, the priests sought to explain away the evil deeds of their heroes ; for they could not with one breath exhort to virtue, and with the next extol those that disregarded their rules of virtue. But the evil deeds of their heroes' foes they allowed to remain, since these men were sinners anyway, and served as types of such. Furthermore, they ranked the exploits of their heroes higher by uniting them, now that time enough had elapsed to confuse the past, with the great heroes of antiquity, perhaps helped in their pretence by a fortuitous likeness of names.

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OUR CONTRIBUTORS

[The names are alphabetically arranged.]

Bandyopadhyay, S., <i>M.A.</i> , <i>LL.B.</i> ..	Senior Research Fellow at our Centre of Advanced Study in AIHC.
Bhattacharya, N. N., <i>M.A.</i> , <i>D.Phil.</i> ..	Junior Research Fellow, Centre of Advanced Study in AIHC.
Biswas, D. K., <i>M.A.</i> ..	Professor of History, Presidency College, Calcutta, and Lecturer in our Dept. of AIHC.
Chakrabarti, D. K., <i>M.A.</i> ..	Lecturer in the Department of Archaeology, C.U.
Chakravarti, A. C., <i>M.A.</i> , <i>D.Phil.</i> ..	Professor of Sanskrit, Balurghat College, West Dinajpur.
Chakravarti, T., <i>M.A.</i> ..	Retired Lecturer, Department of History, C.U.
Chatterjee, A. K., <i>M.A.</i> , <i>D.Phil.</i> ..	Junior Research Fellow, Centre of Advanced Study in AIHC.
Chatterjee, C. D., <i>M.A.</i> ..	Retired Professor and Head of the Department of Ancient Indian History, etc., Lucknow and Gorakhpur Universities.
Das, D. R., <i>M.A.</i> , <i>D.Phil.</i> ..	Lecturer in Ancient Indian and World History, Sanskrit College, Calcutta, and in our Dept. of AIHC.
Lahiri, A. N., <i>M.A.</i> , <i>D.Litt.</i> ..	Reader in our Department of AIHC.
Law, B. C., <i>M.A.</i> , <i>Ph.D.</i> , <i>D.Litt.</i> ..	Veteran Indologist of Calcutta.
Majumdar, R. C., <i>M.A.</i> , <i>Ph.D.</i> ..	Distinguished Historian; formerly Professor and Head of the Department of History and Vice-Chancellor, Dacca University
Sadhu Ram, <i>M.A.</i> ..	Retired Reader in Sanskrit, Delhi University; now at Kurukshetra University
Saha, Sm. K., <i>M.A.</i> , <i>D.Phil.</i> ..	Research Associate, Centre of Advanced Study in AIHC
Valdettaro, C.,	Italian businessman of Calcutta, who is interested in Indian numismatics

[The names of the reviewers and the authors whose articles have been reprinted or translated have not been included in the above list.]

N.B. Our system of transliteration for Sanskritic alphabets—

आ = ā, ि = ī, ऊ = ū, औ = ū, ए = e (long), ē (short), ओ = o (long),
 ऊ (short), उ = ū, ए = c, ए = ū, ए = t, ए = d, ए = n, ए = ū, ए = ū, ए = ū,
 ए = l, *anusvāra* = ṁ, *visarga* = ḥ. *Samāsa* is indicated by hyphen
 and *sandhi* by the sign of equals ; e. g., *vāg-arthār* = *iva*.

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Professor D. C. SIRCAR



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